



CREATE

Canterbury Research and Theses Environment

Canterbury Christ Church University's repository of research outputs

<http://create.canterbury.ac.uk>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g. Connell, A. (2013) Richard, Earl of Cornwall: rebel to Royalist 1225 to 1247. M.A. thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University.

Contact: create.library@canterbury.ac.uk



Abstract

Earl Richard of Cornwall (1209-1272) became the wealthiest magnate in England by the end of 1247 and was a firm supporter of the crown after this time. In his early life, however, Richard was involved in a number of significant baronial rebellions against his brother, the king. Each time Richard would switch his allegiance having reached agreement with Henry III and as a result, the associated baronial alliances would collapse. The early life and rebellions of Richard, earl of Cornwall would see him formulate an extensive and unrivalled landed wealth and with this, significant political influence and control. This was supported and increased further by Richard's astute marriages and his subsequent ability to take control of the royal mints and exchanges in 1247. Richard's involvement in these early rebellions and other significant diplomatic moments within the first thirty eight years of his life during the thirteenth century are therefore of crucial importance to an academic understanding of this period of history.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Louise Wilkinson whose encouragement, patience and support has been invaluable. I would like to thank the staff at the History Department, the Graduate School and the Library at Canterbury Christ Church University, also the staff at the University of Kent's Templeman Library and the Canterbury Cathedral Archives. In addition, I would also like to thank the staff at the National Archives, the British Library and the Institute for Historical Research, London. I would also like to thank my father for his advice, support and willingness to engage with me in conversations about medieval history and the perils of medieval Latin and last, but not least, my wife Zoe, without whose constant love, support and sense of humour I would not have got this far.

Richard, Earl of Cornwall: Rebel to Royalist 1225 to 1247

by

Andrew Connell

Canterbury Christ Church University

**Thesis submitted
for the degree of MA by Research in History**

2013

Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Introduction | 1 |
| | |
| 1) 1227-1231: The end of minority, Gascony and the first rebellion | 19 |
| | |
| 2) 1231-1234: First marriage, the 'Marshal rebellion' and the emergence of personal majority rule | 34 |
| | |
| 3) 1235-1247: The final rebellion, second marriage and the rise of fiscal control | 45 |
| | |
| 4) Land, wealth and patronage | 61 |
| | |
| Conclusion | 77 |
| | |
| Appendix A: Genealogy | 84 |
| | |
| Appendix B: Map of Holdings | 85 |
| | |
| Appendix C: Calendar of Charters | 86 |
| | |
| Bibliography | 93 |

Introduction

The period 1225 to 1247 represents a critical phase in the political history of medieval England, which saw Henry III attempt to throw off the shackles of minority rule and further solidify his personal reign and control of royal government, attempts that would see him become consistently at odds with his barons. At the same time, factions within the nobility sought to outwit each other and secure dominance and supremacy in the new regime, most notably key royal ministers such as Hubert de Burgh, the king's justiciar and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester. The king's brother, Richard, earl of Cornwall's political involvement, influence and accumulation of wealth and power is of key significance to the historian seeking to understand events and decipher some of the political machinations of the various baronial factions during this period. His relationship as brother to the king provided him with almost unparalleled access to and influence over the crown, and his opinion and good favour were sought by many. Richard's subsequent wealth and political prowess would see him become one of the most powerful barons in England. In the years after 1248, Richard was staunchly loyal to his brother the king, defending him with force during the period of baronial reform and rebellion (1258-1267). In the years prior to this, however, Richard and Henry quarrelled on a number of issues, which saw Richard joining with other barons in alliances against the crown. This study will seek to examine the nature of these arguments, the personalities involved and their impact on English domestic politics and those of the English court.

Historiography:

Although the thirteenth century has received extensive historiographical treatment, there is still no comprehensive biography on the life of Richard, earl of Cornwall. As such, Richard's importance as a historical figure and his involvement in key events during the period needs revision. Noel Denholm-Young's book *Richard of Cornwall* remains perhaps the most substantive work and is fundamental to any research into his life. Denholm-Young's treatment of Richard is, however, now seriously dated (published in 1947) and unfortunately, in some cases, proves inadequate as a resource to comprehend Richard's

involvement. It would also appear Denholm-Young did not have access to some important records for studying Richard which have since become more readily available to the historian. The Pipe Rolls are, for instance, a noted late entry within the introduction.¹

Denholm-Young's brief analysis of Richard's rebellion in 1227 relies heavily on the work of Roger of Wendover.² Roger was the chronicler at St. Albans succeeded by Matthew Paris. His reading of events would suggest that Richard secured the support of William Marshal (II) and others to pursue his cause.³ The earls, in turn, sought to pursue Richard's quarrel, whilst concurrently pushing their own agenda. They blamed Hubert de Burgh, threatened war and demanded the re-issue of the Charter of the Forest. When the king subsequently met with them, Richard was granted part of his mother's dower 'during pleasure' to appease him.⁴ Further details are required to sufficiently illuminate events and Denholm-Young utilises various sources to corroborate and correct Wendover's account. Nothing is mentioned, however, about the outcome of the original complaint (against Waleran), only the additional revenues granted to Richard. Denholm-Young writes that a previously cancelled summons was re-issued shortly after the meeting, calling on thirty-five counties to send representatives to a gathering at Westminster. He further asserts that once the barons had dispersed and Richard had been pacified, Henry continued with his plans toward the forest undeterred and that it was 'not known' whether the meeting ever convened or whether the barons were satisfied or not. He further argues that the barons appeared to have 'no constructive programme', suggesting that they would have been little able to pursue their agenda beyond the meeting at Northampton should they have wished.⁵ The nature of any possible agreement between the earls is not discussed by Denholm-Young and is only mentioned in passing as being 'unknown' whether any satisfaction was reached. Given Denholm-Young's depiction of a young earl provided with grants only during the king's pleasure and not in hereditary fee, it seems unlikely that Richard would have felt particularly satisfied with the settlement for long.

¹ N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford: Blackwell 1947), p. ix.

² *Rogeri de Wendover Flores Historiarum*, iv, (ed.) H.O. Coxe (London: Sumptibus Societatis 1841), pp. 141-4.

³ *Flores Historiarum*, pp. 141-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-3; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the reign of Henry III 1232-1247* (London: Public Record Office 1906), pp. 140-1.

⁵ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 13

Denholm-Young's treatment of Richard's personal involvement in the events of the Marshal rebellion is limited. He writes that there was 'no indication that [Richard] intended to support the Marshal', arguing further, that the events of 1232 to 1238 convinced Richard of the 'political wrong-headedness' of Henry, culminating in his own rebellion in 1238.⁶ With Wendover asserting Richard 'adhered' to Richard Marshal at first, 'but had long before returned to the king's side', Denholm-Young maintains that Richard's position was difficult, as a result of his friendships and conflicting loyalties with those involved.⁷ The possible price for Richard's loyalty to the crown was the grant of Warin Basset's lands in Cornwall, the wardship of estates of the young earl of Devon and Gilbert Basset's estate of Wallingford.⁸ During the rebellion, Richard is alleged by Denholm-Young to have remained 'in the background absorbing one grant after another', the most significant occurring during a critical time when the Marshal appeared again to quarrel with Henry. In June 1233, Richard was granted the profits from a judicial eyre in Cornwall.⁹ Denholm-Young, however, does not discuss the possible ramifications of the timing of the grant. Richard's involvement is, according to Denholm-Young, minimal, hanging back and reaping the rewards for non-involvement.¹⁰

Denholm-Young's treatment and analysis of Richard's personal rebellion in 1238 is also rather perfunctory. The reasons for rebellion in 1238 were different, although Richard was, once again, allied with a member of the Marshal family. Denholm-Young argues that Richard was at the head of the rebellion, sparked by the secret marriage of Simon de Montfort to Richard's sister. Stating that, only a few days after the wedding, Richard was in arms against the king with Gilbert Marshal and the earl of Winchester at Kingston-upon-Thames.¹¹ However, Denholm-Young then goes on to assert that Richard's movements 'cannot be traced very closely'.¹² The summary of events here is reliant on Matthew Paris' work, with Paris providing detail on the failure of the papal legate to persuade Richard and the subsequent advice that Henry yield and sign the Provisions, only for these never to take

⁶ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 22.

⁷ Ibid.; *Flores Historiarum*, iv, p. 271.

⁸ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 27.

⁹ *Calendar of the Close Rolls of the reign of Henry III 1231-1234* (London: Public Record Office 1905), p. 227.

¹⁰ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 29

¹¹ Ibid., p. 35

¹² Ibid.

effect as Richard 'deserted the barons'.¹³ Denholm-Young claims that Paris makes the assertion of desertion but does not offer any evidence.¹⁴ A suggestion of secret bribes mentioned by Paris is subsequently relegated to the notes section.¹⁵ Neither does Denholm-Young himself provide a reason for Richard '[throwing] away the fruits of victory' but suggests that he may have been 'encouraged' by a payment of 6,000 marks.¹⁶ Denholm-Young concludes his analysis with the judgement that the victory in 1238 belonged to Henry through the secured allegiance of Richard to the crown. The strength of this alliance would help to forestall rebellion against the crown for almost twenty years.

Robert Stacey in *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III 1216-1245* provides us with a more in-depth analysis of events and their context than that offered by Denholm-Young, in particular, with relation to Richard's personal rebellion in 1238. Stacey argues that Richard and Gilbert Marshal formed 'the backbone' of the revolt, with neither the particular leader. He also suggests that there may have been resentment regarding another marriage, that of Richard de Clare, the heir to the earldom of Gloucester and the daughter of the earl of Lincoln.¹⁷ Richard was de Clare's step-father and is recorded as having agreed to the arrangement with the earl of Lincoln, or at the least with 'his counsel'.¹⁸ Whether or not Richard was particularly happy with the prospect of the earldoms of Lincoln and Gloucester becoming joined, as this would represent a significant power block, is unknown. Gilbert Marshal also had cause to take affront over the de Montfort marriage as Eleanor had been married to his brother. Stacey argues that the Marshal was probably not consulted on the de Clare marriage due to his absence from the country. Gilbert would nonetheless, however, have been concerned with the effects of such a match on the power balance in the Welsh Marches.¹⁹ Stacey analyses the two chronicle accounts which refer to the rebellion, the *Annals of Tewkesbury* and the *Chronica Majora* but cautions that, although independent of each other, neither should be seen as untainted records. He suggests that, if we presume the reference in the Tewkesbury annals to be correct, it asserts that Richard and the Marshal were not simply concerned with the marriages but also with the control of

¹³ *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora, iii*, (ed.) H. Luard (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1872-83), p. 477; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 36.

¹⁴ *Chronica Majora, iii*, p. 477.

¹⁵ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ R. Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III 1216-1245* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987), pp. 118-9.

¹⁸ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, pp. 199-200.

¹⁹ Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance*, p. 119.

the council that approved them. Stacey also argues that the final clause mentioning foreigners is problematic and could have been written after the fact during the 1240s or 1250s, as it seems to be more appropriate to that timeframe.²⁰ Stacey proposes that were we to take Paris' words on the rebellion as written in the *Chronica Majora* as correct, then Henry had agreed that the proceeds of the thirtieth collected were to be managed by four nominated barons. Further to this, Henry's later promise in November to only spend the funds on the advice of the papal legate and his moving of the funds themselves during December, represented breaches of the initial agreement.²¹ Stacey concludes that Paris' version of events was tainted by the later circumstances during the 1240s onward and therefore, his narrative should only be accepted with 'extreme caution'. Regardless of the narrative, William of Savoy left England in 1238 and died not long after and Simon de Montfort also left the country to seek papal support for his marriage and appears to have lost significant influence at court as a result of the rebellion. Stacey's conclusion is that at the end of 1238, Richard held the most significant influence over Henry III's council and that this is demonstrated by two significant points. Firstly, with the failure of the Devon judicial eyre's attempt in 1238 to investigate the rights of barons over private hundreds, and secondly, via the eventual expenditure of the thirtieth itself. Stacey asserts that of the 17,000 marks collected, approximately half was spent on Richard's plans for crusade. He believes that Henry's 'alleged extravagance' played little part in the eventual 'wasteful' expenditure of the thirtieth and therefore, Richard's involvement in this should be given greater consideration.²²

The events of 1227 have also received attention more recently from Nicholas Vincent in his account of Richard's career within the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Vincent writes that Richard left the court 'in fury' and entered into an alliance with William Marshal (II), soon followed by other earls. While Vincent states the subsequent baronial alliances' demands of the king, in a similar vein to Denholm-Young, he does not discuss in any depth any agreements made between Richard and his baronial allies. Vincent presents us with two main reasons for Richard's 1227 rebellion. The first deals with Richard's attempts to assert his baronial land rights against Waleran the German. The other,

²⁰ Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance*, p. 119.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 123-127.

and perhaps to be of later significance, was the growing tension between Richard and Hubert de Burgh; Richard having earlier been forced to surrender Berkhamsted to de Burgh's nephew. The subsequent agreement reached between Henry III and Richard is again not extensively discussed. Vincent writes that Richard's abandonment of the alliance left it to crumble in disarray.²³

Although Vincent's descriptions of events during 1227-1232 are brief, they serve to highlight the increasing tensions/feud between Richard and Hubert de Burgh, and the connections between Richard and Peter des Roches, who had himself, sworn to destroy de Burgh. Any deeper connotation of strengthened alliances between Richard and the Marshal faction as a result of his marriage to Isabella is only mentioned in passing. It is evident, however, that there was a strong connection with the Marshals, as on three separate occasions Richard allied with differing members of the Marshal family. In 1227 Richard had joined with William Marshal (II) and then in 1233 with Richard Marshal. When tensions exploded in 1238 Richard again entered into an alliance with the Marshal faction, this time with Gilbert Marshal. Vincent states that Richard's rebellion was perhaps fed by his earlier successes in 1227 and 1233, in addition to a 'sense of pique' that crown revenues were being 'squandered' on the king's personal foreign favourites.²⁴ Once more however, Richard abandoned the baronial alliance and brokered peace with his brother later in 1238, although Vincent does not detail what caused Richard to do so, nor does he provide a particular examination of the resultant effects on those whom he had abandoned.²⁵

In addition to the above works, Nicholas Vincent's book *Peter des Roches: An Alien in British Politics 1205-1238* is of considerable importance to this study. Vincent provides a critical insight into the political landscape and, in particular, the factional nature of the disputes which arose during this time. Richard had been raised in the care of Peter de Maulay, a close ally of Peter des Roches and one who was seen to be on the losing side of Hubert de Burgh's rise to power, which placed Richard with a predisposed bias against de

²³ N. Vincent, 'Richard, first Earl of Cornwall and King of Germany', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sep 2004) online edition Jan 2008 <http://www.oxfordnb.com/view/article/23501> [accessed November 2011], pp. 2-3.

²⁴ Vincent, 'Richard, first Earl of Cornwall', p. 6.

²⁵ Ibid.

Burgh.²⁶ Richard's sympathies with de Burgh's rivals were also further strengthened with his marriage to William Marshal II's sister, Isabella. Vincent writes that by 1230, Richard had also recruited at least two other associates of de Maulay and des Roches into his personal household: Andrew de Chanceaux and his son, Giles.²⁷ Presumably these would serve to bolster any anti de Burgh sentiments within Richard's household. Vincent also provides insight on the rebellion of 1227, stating that Richard had personal grievances which stemmed from matters principally pertaining to land, his entitlements and the king's perceived interference with Richard's honour.²⁸ Vincent contends that the principal factor which ultimately stirred Richard into rebellion was the forced surrender of the honour of Berkhamsted in July 1227 – part of his mother's dower lands held by Richard – to de Burgh's nephew, Raymond de Burgh.²⁹ He highlights that Hubert de Burgh, now faced a considerable faction of young earls and powerful allies, with little but the 'confidence' of the king to maintain his hold on royal power and Richard was seen as his principal threat. The rebellion of 1233-1234 was not necessarily instigated by armed conflict between Richard Marshal and the king but rather, according to Vincent, through the pursuance of private vendettas between the Marshal's men and those whom they deemed to have deserted his cause. Although others have written that Richard was initially sympathetic to the Marshal cause in 1233, Vincent asserts that the friendship between the two men had become increasingly strained.³⁰ It is claimed by the chronicler Roger of Wendover that Richard was bribed by Peter des Roches, along with the earls of Chester and Lincoln, to remain loyal to the king and Vincent investigates this charge accordingly, suggesting that there may be evidence to substantiate this claim.³¹ Peter des Roches had been granted custody of the lands of the earl of Devon early in August 1233, yet had surrendered these in favour of Richard of Cornwall before the end of the same month; this could easily have been viewed as a bribe. Vincent asserts that Richard's subsequent abandonment of the Marshal's cause

²⁶ N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in British Politics 1205-1238* (Cambridge University Press 1996), p. 265; N. Vincent, 'Maulay, Peter (I) de (d. 1241)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Sept 2012 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18375>, [accessed 17 Feb 2013].

²⁷ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 265.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 390; F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The community of the realm in the Thirteenth Century*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1950), p. 129.

³¹ *Flores Historiarum*, iv, p. 271; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 390, *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 23; *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 252.

made him a 'figure of loathing' amongst the rebels and that the seizure of the castle at Hay-on-Wye, part of the Briouze lands held by Richard, represented the opening salvo of a grudge against the earl of Cornwall by the Marshal's men.³² Vincent further maintains that rather than the rebellion being led by Richard Marshal, it was Gilbert Basset and his kinsmen whom initiated the offensive, leaving the Marshal with little option but to support his affinity into rebellion.³³ Instead of negotiating directly with the king - the Marshal had earlier in 1233 attempted to reach an accord with Henry to resolve the crisis - he was manoeuvred into rebellion through the direct and aggressive actions of his affinity and his own desperate attempts to assert his personal leadership over them.³⁴ Richard of Cornwall's personal involvement in the events of 1233-1234, other than the alleged bribery by Peter des Roches and the resultant reprisal action taken against him, is discussed sparingly by Vincent. It is necessary therefore to attempt to address Richard's movements and actions during this period in a more thorough fashion. Similar to the description of Richard's involvement in the events of 1233-1234, Richard's personal rebellion in 1238 is limited by Vincent to a brief paragraph³⁵ outlining the source of Richard and Gilbert Marshal's grievances against the marriage of William Marshal (II)'s widow Eleanor to Simon de Montfort.³⁶ In combination with a review of the historiography, in order to examine the circumstances surrounding the rebellions, the characters involved and their wider impact on domestic policy, we must undertake a revision of the relevant primary sources. For the purposes of this thesis I have utilised the following materials.

Sources:

Due to an increased level of meticulous record keeping within the administrative sector of the royal household, there is a wealth of documentary evidence that survives from

³² Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 390-391; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 23; *Close Rolls, 1231-1234*, p. 252.

³³ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 397.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 396-8.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 476. This is principally, of course, due to these events occurring in the twilight of Peter des Roches' life and the focus of Vincent's work being upon des Roches' involvement in persuading Henry to seek peace rather than pursuing a detailed analysis of the violent, if somewhat short-lived, reactions of Richard of Cornwall and Gilbert Marshal.

³⁶ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 476; *Annals of Tewkesbury* in *Annales Monastici (AM)*, i, (ed.) H.R. Luard (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), p. 106.

this period and which can be used to examine Richard's relationship with the English crown.³⁷ For the purposes of this work, the Chancery Rolls of the reign of Henry III for the years 1225-1250 are of particular use. These include the Patent Rolls, copies of open letters from the crown, which included items such as grants of land, licenses, pardons, wardships and charter confirmations. These are able to provide us with information on any rights granted to Richard, along with any benefits Richard sought for his associates.³⁸ The Close Rolls further detail orders from the crown to its agents of a more private nature, which were issued and sealed closed, ranging from commands such as writs to sheriffs and landholders and also summons to attend the court.³⁹ The Charter Rolls provide transcripts of royal charters issued by the crown. These granted lands and privileges to individuals, towns and institutions. The charters were almost exclusively issued before witnesses, providing the names of those present at court and allowing us to track Richard's attendance upon his royal brother.⁴⁰ The Liberate Rolls record authorised payments by the chancery to individuals as stipends, pensions, gifts and also include other expenses from the royal household. These are particularly important as they detail numerous payments to Richard by the crown, either in gift or in return for previous loans.⁴¹ Concessions and favours granted in return for the payment of money to the crown are listed within the Fine Rolls of Henry III, which prove particularly useful in gaining further insights into the operation of royal patronage.⁴² Although few entries appear to relate directly to Richard, analysis using Richard's known associates, merchants and representatives may prove more enlightening. Letters for the period written by Henry III, Richard of Cornwall and others are of particular value as they present us with an account of events from the principal characters themselves in their own words.⁴³

³⁷ M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (Oxford: Blackwell 1992).

³⁸ *The Calendar of Patent Rolls of Henry III*, 5 Vols. (London: H.M.S.O. 1891-1913).

³⁹ *The Calendar of Close Rolls 1272-1509*, 47 Vols. (London: H.M.S.O. 1900-63).

⁴⁰ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III (1226-1272) from the charter rolls in the Public Record Office*, (ed.) M. Morris (Kew: List and Index Society 291-2 2001), 2 Vols.

⁴¹ *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls*, 6 Vols. (London: H.M.S.O. 1916-64).

⁴² *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, 3 Vols. (Woodbridge, 2007-2009) also available on the Henry III Fine Rolls Project's website where all the rolls from the reign are published in English translation (<http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk>) [accessed January 2012].

⁴³ *Royal and other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, 2 Vols. (ed.) W.W. Shirley (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer 1866).

Richard's personal charters are of particular importance.⁴⁴ These provide us not only with information on the type of grants he made but also, through the associated surviving witness lists, an insight into the men he maintained in his regular company. There is no surviving cartulary for Richard, however, the cartulary of his son Edmund, labelled as the *Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*, is held in the National Archives at Kew.⁴⁵ This contains numerous deeds which relate to the earldom of Cornwall. Despite its name, more than forty of the deeds relate to Richard, not Edmund, and are thus of particular use within this study. Unfortunately, however, it does not contain any of Richard's personal charters, so with regard to an examination of Richard's affinity from any associated witness lists, surviving charters must be located elsewhere. Charters issued by Richard provide information on the governance of his estates, including whether he granted any particular rights to his various tenants. They are also crucial in enlightening Richard's role in local politics and his patronage of religious orders. Approximately one hundred of Richard's personal charters do survive. These can be found within cartularies of religious houses, such as Beaulieu Abbey, St Michael's Mount and Launceston Priory, as single sheet originals in particular local archives such as the title deeds and borough charters held in the Cornwall Record Office, inspeximus or confirmations of earlier charters within later Chancery Rolls and also those found within the aforementioned *Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*.

In addition to the record evidence, the chronicles for Henry III's reign offer important insights into contemporary opinion on Richard and his role within England. The Benedictine abbeys of Burton on Trent and Tewkesbury produced the Burton chronicle and the Tewkesbury chronicle respectively.⁴⁶ The Cistercians of Waverley abbey in Surrey produced the annals of Waverley,⁴⁷ which are perhaps the most favourable of the monastic annals to Richard, earl of Cornwall, following his patronage of Hailes abbey.⁴⁸ The Augustinian canons produced the Dunstable chronicle⁴⁹ and the chronicle of Oseney.⁵⁰ The Oseney annals contain many of the main events in Richard's life. It has been suggested by Antonia

⁴⁴ *Calendar of the Charter Rolls 1226-1300*, 2 Vols. (London: H.M.S.O. 1903-27); *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, (ed.) S.F. Hockey (Southampton: University Press 1974) See Appendix C.

⁴⁵ *The cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*, TNA: PRO E36/57.

⁴⁶ *Annals of Burton*, AM i, pp. 183-500; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, pp. 43-180.

⁴⁷ *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, pp. 129-412.

⁴⁸ A. Gransden, *English Historical Writing*, Vol. 1 (London: Routledge 1996), p. 414.

⁴⁹ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, pp. 421-488.

⁵⁰ *Annals of Oseney*, AM iv, pp. 3-355.

Gransden that much of this is due to the fact that Philip of Eye, Richard's treasurer, eventually retired to become a canon at Oseney.⁵¹ The annals of Oseney were written by various authors and most certainly by Thomas Wykes from at least 1278 to 1293. Thomas Wykes is reported to have been a clerk, possibly a chaplain, within Richard's household and had close links with Philip of Eye, his benefactor.⁵² It is likely, therefore, that if Thomas Wykes did not have personal first-hand recollections, he was perhaps able to obtain second-hand information from Philip of Eye. The chronicle of Thomas Wykes contains a number of instances relating to Richard and also revises sections of the Oseney annals.⁵³ The chronicle of Bury St Edmunds contains several useful references to Richard during the 1240s.⁵⁴ Also containing various entries relating to Richard are the annals of Margam and the annals of Winchester.⁵⁵ The most significant contemporary narrative account of events during Richard's lifetime, though, remains the writing of Matthew Paris, particularly his *Chronica Majora*, continued from the earlier work of his predecessor Roger of Wendover. Paris was a Benedictine monk based in the abbey of St. Albans and was able to maintain close connections with the royal household and members of the nobility. Despite his apparent monastic seclusion, he received a number of visits from both Richard and Henry III and was thus able to gain direct access to information on events.⁵⁶ The immediate and pervading problem with the chronicles is, of course, the author's natural tendency toward a personal influence on the narrative. Matthew Paris, in particular, is known for his own strong views on church and state. Though in some instances he later reworded sections, he was particularly scathing in passing his judgements at times, allowing his own personal prejudices to affect his work.⁵⁷ The chronicles are of value for any study of Richard as they provide personal insights into both his character and his involvement in particular events.

Biographical Overview:

⁵¹ A. Gransden, *English Historical Writing*, Vol. 1, p. 431.

⁵² N. Denholm-Young, 'Thomas de Wykes and His Chronicle' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 61, No. 240 (May 1946), pp. 157-179; E.D. Kennedy, 'Wykes, Thomas (1222-1291x3)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30129>, [accessed 5 August 2012].

⁵³ *The Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv.

⁵⁴ *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301*, (ed.) A. Gransden (London: Nelson Medieval Texts 1964).

⁵⁵ *Annals of Margam*, AM i, pp. 1-40; *Annals of Winchester*, AM ii, pp. 3-128.

⁵⁶ S. Lloyd and R. Reader, 'Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268> [accessed December 2011].

⁵⁷ M. Vaughn, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1958), pp. 117-124.

Richard was born at Winchester in 1209 to King John and his wife, Isabella of Angouleme.⁵⁸ He was initially raised in the household of his mother at Marlborough before being transferred to the care of Peter de Maulay at Corfe Castle in 1215.⁵⁹ There he was educated by a personal tutor named Roger of Acaster. Roger was later awarded with land in Cornwall by Richard as a demonstration of his favour.⁶⁰ Richard remained in the custody of de Maulay until at least 1220, when he travelled to London for the coronation of his elder brother, Henry III.⁶¹ He may have remained at court in England after this time following the disgrace of Peter de Maulay in 1221.⁶² His next recorded presence occurred when he was knighted by his brother at Westminster, shortly after his sixteenth birthday, on 2 February 1225.⁶³ A few days later he was awarded the county of Cornwall to hold during the king's pleasure.⁶⁴ In March 1225 Richard was appointed the leader of an expedition to recover Gascony and Poitou. Although the attempt to secure Gascony was successful, they failed to make any significant inroads into Poitou and Richard eventually returned to England in 1227.⁶⁵ Richard was by this time aged eighteen and would no doubt have expected considerable favour from his brother the king, who had achieved majority rule earlier that year, and he was duly named as earl of Cornwall in May 1227.⁶⁶ Richard, however, still only held lands during the king's pleasure and not in hereditary fee. This was a position that would represent a determining factor in Richard's relations with his brother during the next few years and lead him down the path of rebellion.

The first of Richard's quarrels with his brother Henry, occurred in 1227 when Richard attempted to eject Waleran the German, also known as Waleran le Tyes or Waleran Teutonicus, from one of the manors within the earldom of Cornwall. Waleran appears to have been a household officer for Henry III and had previously been a mercenary for King John.⁶⁷ Henry III, however, lent his support to Waleran and ordered that he be reinstated.⁶⁸

⁵⁸ *Annals of Margam*, AM i, p. 29; *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, p. 264.

⁵⁹ Vincent, *Richard, first Earl of Cornwall*, p. 1; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Vincent, *Richard, first Earl of Cornwall*, p. 1.

⁶¹ Vincent, *Richard, first Earl of Cornwall*, p. 1; *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae Et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica*, T. Rymer (ed.), Vol. 1, p. 160.

⁶² Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 201.

⁶³ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 68; *Annals of Winchester*, AM ii, p. 84; *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 92.

⁶⁴ *Patent Rolls 1216-1225*, p. 507.

⁶⁵ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 4-8.

⁶⁶ *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, p. 303.

⁶⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 123.

In outrage, Richard left the court and entered into an alliance with William Marshal (II), earl of Pembroke and subsequently the earls of Gloucester, Chester, Surrey, Hereford, Derby and Warwick. Mustering under arms they made demands of the king and the chief minister, Hubert de Burgh, which included attempts to limit de Burgh's powers.⁶⁹ Richard met with his brother at Northampton and subsequently accepted offers of land. In doing so, he seemingly abandoned the other barons, having settled his own concerns, and the alliance was left to disintegrate.⁷⁰ Richard would raise his arm in rebellion again in 1233, this time with Richard Marshal, the next earl of Pembroke, brother to William Marshal II and Richard's brother-in-law, following the denial of his wardship claim on the young earl of Gloucester.⁷¹ There are suggestions that, on this occasion, Richard was enticed by Peter des Roches to return his allegiance to the crown; he subsequently received custody of the earldom of Devon.⁷² Again, having received his own remuneration, Richard left the baronial rebels, much to their chagrin. He quarrelled again with Henry in 1238, allying himself once more with a member of the Marshal affinity, this time Gilbert Marshal, brother to William Marshal (II) and Richard Marshal, the latest earl of Pembroke, only to repeat his earlier actions and remove himself from the rebellion a month later.⁷³

Richard appears to have been as astute in his political manoeuvres as he was with his marriages, of which there were three, each provided him with varying levels of additional wealth and influence. Richard's first marriage was to Isabella Marshal in 1231. Isabella was sister to William Marshal (II), earl of Pembroke and widow of the late earl of Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, who had died less than six months earlier. Isabella was much older than Richard and had already borne six children with her late husband.⁷⁴ Although Richard's motives in making the marriage are not discussed overtly by historians, it is clear that the marriage to the widowed heiress represented a coup for Richard. It brought him a significant increase in land, which included the manors of Sundon in Bedfordshire and Thornbury in Gloucestershire as part of Isabella's marriage portion.⁷⁵ The marriage caused a

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 123-4.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ *Flores Historiarum*, iv, pp. 142-3.

⁷¹ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 86.

⁷² *Flores Historiarum*, iv, p. 271; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 23; *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 252.

⁷³ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 106.

⁷⁴ M. Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press 1965), pp. 31, 33-34.

⁷⁵ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 169.

rift, however, between Richard and his brother, Henry. Seen potentially as Richard further allying himself with the Marshal affinity, this represented the distinct possibility of two of the most significant baronial factions amalgamating in opposition to the king and, perhaps most pertinently, his chief minister at the time, Hubert de Burgh. Noel Denholm-Young asserts that the rift was short-lived however, and possibly due more to a general lack of consultation with Henry prior to the marriage, than in any political ramifications it might have represented.⁷⁶ The marriage would produce four children, the first two, John (b.1232 d.1232) and Isabella (b.1233 d.1234), died during infancy. The only child to survive to adulthood was Henry (later Henry of Almain) born in 1235. The final child, named Nicholas, died during childbirth along with his mother in 1240.⁷⁷

Richard's second marriage followed in 1243 to Sanchia of Provence, sister to Henry III's wife, Queen Eleanor.⁷⁸ This would prove to be even more fortuitous in terms of land acquisition than his first marriage and was perhaps more politically favourable to his brother Henry.⁷⁹ The political consequences of the marriage were that Richard became more closely involved with the politics of Provence and Savoy and aligned with Henry's continental policy.⁸⁰ In 1246, Richard and Henry tried, unsuccessfully, to oppose Charles of Anjou in his attempt to claim the lands of Raymond, count of Provence, following his marriage to Sanchia's younger sister, Beatrice of Provence.⁸¹ Richard also became friends with Peter of Savoy, Sanchia's uncle, with whom he had previously tense relations.⁸² Peter would eventually help to finalise Richard's marriage to Sanchia.⁸³ Richard also became generally more sympathetic in his relations with the Savoyards at court, than perhaps he would have been had the marriage not taken place. In 1244, he loaned 1000 marks to Boniface of Savoy,

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 19.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁸ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 161.

⁷⁹ Denholm-Young asserts that there were 'no reasons to postulate any political motivation for the marriage [as] Henry III was already firmly attached to Provence and Savoy'. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 50. Margaret Howell, however, argues that there were distinct political motivations on the part of Henry III and, in particular, Eleanor of Provence, to ensure that Richard, who represented the most significant potential obstacle to their plans for their son Edward, was 'tamed'. A marriage between Richard and Sanchia of Provence would serve such a purpose. M. Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell 1998), p. 34.

⁸⁰ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 49.

⁸¹ N. Vincent, 'Richard, first Earl of Cornwall', p. 9; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 51-2.

⁸² Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 46.

⁸³ N. Vincent, 'Savoy, Peter of, count of Savoy and de facto earl of Richmond (1203?-1268)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22016>, [accessed 5 June 2013].

archbishop-elect of Canterbury.⁸⁴ He also loaned an unknown amount of money to Peter of Savoy, the repayment of which was backed by Henry.⁸⁵ Richard also loaned Peter a further 500 marks in 1249 with the repayment again guaranteed by Henry.⁸⁶ In order to secure Richard's interest in the marriage, Henry had initially given Richard a payment of £1000 in November 1243 as part of an agreed £3000 marriage portion.⁸⁷ The marriage itself brought land worth at least 1000 marks per year to Richard, including Mere in Dorset, Risborough in Buckinghamshire, and Oakham in Rutland.⁸⁸ Together, Sanchia and Richard produced further children, however, only Edmund (b.1249) survived to adulthood.⁸⁹ It is difficult to assess the nature of their marriage relationship. Although, for example, Sanchia accompanied Richard on his long trip to Germany in 1257 and was crowned alongside him,⁹⁰ by the time of her death in 1261 it appears that the marriage had become a mere formality.⁹¹ When she died she was buried at the abbey of Hailes with Richard notably absent, suggesting to Noel Denholm-Young and Nicholas Vincent, that their marriage had long since become one of convenience.⁹²

The third and final marriage occurred in 1269 to Beatrix von Falkenburg, niece of Englebert, the archbishop of Cologne, at Kaiserslautern in Germany.⁹³ This marriage served to increase his alliances in Germany and can be seen as an attempt to strengthen his claim for the title of Holy Roman Emperor against that of his latest rival, Conradin the grandson of Frederick II. A marriage to the niece of the archbishop of Cologne, who had been hostile to

⁸⁴ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 446.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 479.

⁸⁶ *Patent Rolls 1247-1258*, p. 54.

⁸⁷ *Calendar of Liberate Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III* (London: H.M.S.O. 1916-64), Vol. 2 1240-1245, p.198; Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 34.

⁸⁸ *Calendar of the Charter Rolls of Henry III 1226-1257* (London: H.M.S.O. 1903), p. 276.

⁸⁹ *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, p. 243.

⁹⁰ *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae*, T. Rymer (ed.), Vol. 1, pp. 355-356; *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, p. 243.

⁹¹ *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, p.128; *Flores Historiarum*, ii, p.474; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 112-3.

⁹² *Annals of Winchester*, AM ii, p. 100; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 168-9; Vincent, 'Richard, first Earl of Cornwall', p. 14. It should be noted that at the death of his first wife Isabella, Richard is said to have been inconsolable and returned immediately to bury her. *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 2. Richard was also present at his sister, Joan Queen of Scot's, deathbed in March 1238, with Joan reportedly dying in the arms of her brothers. J. Nelson, 'Scottish Queenship in Thirteenth Century England' in *Thirteenth Century England XI: Proceedings of the Gregynog Conference 2005*, (ed.) B. Weiler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2007), p. 69; 'Chronicle of Melrose' in *The Church Historians of England* Vol. 4, (ed.) J. Stevenson (London: Seeleys 1856), p. 181. Therefore, one can argue that given Richard's apparent absence at Sanchia's death and burial, there is evidence to suggest that any love that might have been present in the marriage had long dissolved.

⁹³ *Annals of Oseney*, AM iv, p. 224.

Richard's claims to the throne, served to swing at least one of his opponent's supporters to his cause.⁹⁴ The political ramifications of Richard's actions during this period in Germany are emphasised by Thomas Wykes.⁹⁵ In particular, Richard sought to deal with the extortions faced by many travelling along the Rhine and called a conference at Worms in 1269 to abolish the excessive tolls, actions that were widely praised by the German people.⁹⁶ Richard's marriage to a German wife can also be seen to have shown his intent to the German people to be more than an absentee king.⁹⁷ Unfortunately, however, unable to influence affairs elsewhere within Germany and lacking the necessary military force, Richard was unable to push forward with his claim as Holy Roman Emperor. In contrast to his previous marriages, Richard was said to be 'passionately in love' with Beatrix, and the marriage appears to have brought little in terms land.⁹⁸ Although when he died in 1272, Richard's body was buried at Hailes alongside Sanchia; his heart was interred in a Franciscan church in Oxford, where upon her death, Beatrix was buried close by.⁹⁹

This picture of a brother to the king, able to exercise his influence and connections to accumulate land power and wealth (and a crown of his own along the way), presents the historian with an intriguing model for the view of a developing comital lordship during the thirteenth century. Richard's accrued estates would eventually provide him with a substantial annual income of at least five to six thousand pounds a year.¹⁰⁰ This made him one of the wealthiest men within Henry III's realm. Knaresborough, Wallingford, Cornwall and the tin stannaries, accompanied by the lands gained through his second marriage accounted for approximately ninety per cent of his annual income.¹⁰¹ By the end of this period of study Richard would hold lands as far north as Kirton-in-Lindsey in Lincolnshire, east toward Eye and Haughley in Suffolk, west through Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire and Wallingford in Oxfordshire, to his lands in Devon and Cornwall. In addition to these already substantial revenues, Richard was also able to obtain additional income from the running of

⁹⁴ Ibid.; Vincent, *Richard, first Earl of Cornwall*, p. 18.

⁹⁵ *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, pp. 222-5.

⁹⁶ Ibid.; B. K. U. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire, 1216-72* (Woodbridge: Boydell and the Royal Historical Society 2006), pp. 188-9.

⁹⁷ Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire*, p. 189.

⁹⁸ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 141; *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, pp. 224-5.

⁹⁹ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii. p. 252; *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, pp. 247-8; *Annals of Oseney*, AM iv, p. 274; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 152.

¹⁰⁰ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 163.

¹⁰¹ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 276; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 163-4

the royal mint from 1247, including fines for currency regulation breaches.¹⁰² He was also able to obtain occasional profits from judicial eyres in Cornwall, coupled with the redemption of crusading vows.¹⁰³

In the building of castles, Richard made his mark on the landscape with visual representations of his lordship. He built himself fine, princely residences which were appropriate for someone of his rank. He renovated and expanded Berkhamsted castle,¹⁰⁴ built a stone castle at Mere in Dorset,¹⁰⁵ and also rebuilt the castle of Tintagel in Cornwall, supposedly due to its associations with the legend of King Arthur.¹⁰⁶ He also sought to increase the opportunity for monetary value from his holdings, such as the Cornish tin mines.¹⁰⁷ Richard also founded a number of religious houses during his lifetime, the most significant of which was the Cistercian abbey at Hailes in Gloucestershire in 1246.¹⁰⁸ Richard patronised religious orders to safeguard his soul, enhance his reputation for piety and as a further display of his wealth and prowess. He does not appear to have had a particular leaning towards one religious order over another; he supported an Augustinian nunnery in Buckinghamshire,¹⁰⁹ facilitated the relocation of a Franciscan community in Chichester¹¹⁰ and founded a Trinitarian friary in Knaresborough.¹¹¹ The depth of Richard's personal piety has, however, been questioned by historians. Nicholas Vincent asserts that his 'piety was conventional rather than fanatical'.¹¹² Indeed, the foundation of Hailes came as a result of Richard allegedly swearing an oath during a particularly disastrous Channel crossing to England, which resulted in a near shipwreck, that he would build an abbey should he return

¹⁰² R. Cassidy, 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints and exchanges, 1247-59', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 172 (2012), pp. 137-156; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 503; *Close Rolls 1251-1253*, pp. 481-2.

¹⁰³ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 163-4.

¹⁰⁴ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 161, *Close Rolls 1242-1247*, p. 111.

¹⁰⁵ *Close Rolls 1251-1253*, p. 386.

¹⁰⁶ M. Page, 'Cornwall, Earl Richard and the Barons' War', *The English Historical Review*, Vol.115, No.460 (Feb 2000), pp. 21-38, (p. 23).

¹⁰⁷ *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1224-1225*, no.80 (available both on the Henry III *Fine Rolls Project's* website (<http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk>) [accessed January 2012] and within *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1216-1234*, (ed.) P. Dryburgh and B. Hartland, (technical eds.), A. Ciula and J.M. Vieira, 3 vols. (Woodbridge 2007-2009).

¹⁰⁸ W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: a History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1817-1830), Vol.5, pp. 686-9.

¹⁰⁹ *Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, p. 99; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. 6, p. 546.

¹¹⁰ *Patent Rolls 1266-1272*, p. 369.

¹¹¹ *Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, p. 240.

¹¹² Vincent, 'Richard, first Earl of Cornwall', p. 20.

home safely.¹¹³ Richard also continued to patronise one of his father's favoured foundations, the mother house of Hailes, Beaulieu abbey.¹¹⁴

To aid in the provision of a clear and concise picture of Richard as a man, as well as a political figure, we must examine the manner in which he governed his personal wealth, any charitable/pious moves he made, the company he sought to keep, those he kept close to him in his affinity and the picture he attempted to present to the world at large. In building upon these themes this thesis will seek to remedy the lack of a serious biography and establish a revised account of Richard's involvement in these rebellions. Chapter one will elaborate upon events during 1225-1231 and the rebellion of 1227, whilst chapter two will discuss Richard's first marriage, his connection with the Marshal family and the 'Marshal Rebellion', as well as the emergence of Henry III's majority rule. Chapter three will examine the final rebellion, Richard's second marriage to Sanchia of Provence and the rise of Richard's fiscal control. Finally, chapter four will examine further the accumulation and development of Richard's land and wealth, his role as a religious patron and his personal affinity.

¹¹³ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 229; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 50.

¹¹⁴ *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, p. lii.

Chapter 1

1227-1231: The end of minority, Gascony and the first rebellion

Richard was knighted, a few weeks after his sixteenth birthday by his brother the king in March 1225 at Westminster and awarded the county of Cornwall to hold during pleasure.¹ Shortly after this, a mission was organised by Henry III to restore authority in Gascony and recover the county of Poitou, lands lost the previous year to the Capetians, with the newly knighted Richard nominally leading the expedition.² Although he never held effective possession of the area, from August of that year Richard began styling himself as the count of Poitou, 'comes Pictaviae'.³ While this work will not seek to recount the events of the tour to Gascony (1225-1227), a key factor should be noted when taken into context with the later events of 1227, namely that Richard did not appear to have a significant level of personal income, or at least not one which he is alleged to have deemed suitable for his position as brother to the king. The extent to which Richard was still reliant on funds from the crown, rather than his own estates, prior to 1227 can be shown through entries in the *Liberate Rolls*. In particular and pertinent to this point, payments to refund loans made to Richard during his time in Gascony. The Gascony campaign was expensive and would cost the crown more than £50,000.⁴ Richard, however, rather than making any payments necessary from his own funds and then charging these back to the crown, seems to have had to resort to a number of loans in order to finance his activities. At Westminster on 6 February 1227, a payment was made to Bonefusus de Sancta, a citizen of Bordeaux of £106 13s. and 4d. and an additional further 200 marks, both amounts lent to Richard 'for the expedition of the king's affairs'.⁵ Similarly, in March, a further 266 marks of loans made by others to Richard were repaid.⁶ It is therefore evident, that when Richard later claimed to be insufficiently provided for, a case partially put forward by Denholm-Young as reason for his initial rebellion,⁷ that there is relevant data to substantiate such claims. Of course, it should

¹ *Patent Rolls 1216-1225*, p. 507; *Annals of Margam*, AM i, p. 68.

² *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 92; *Patent Rolls 1216-1225*, p. 516.

³ *Royal and other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III* (ed.) W. W. Shirley, Vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer 1862), p. 262.

⁴ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 262.

⁵ *Liberate Rolls*, p. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 13.

also be recognised that at this stage, Richard was still not considered to be 'of age' and as such, held no lands in fee, only during royal pleasure.⁸ Accordingly, Richard had little money of his own to utilise during the campaign to Gascony and had little option but to resort to the expedience of loans. Richard's overall successes on the campaign were limited. He had written home to his brother in May 1225 to inform him of his success in Gascony.⁹ The county was pacified and the borders secured with the fall of La Réole in November.¹⁰ Richard had instigated diplomatic relations with the neighbouring counts of Toulouse and Auvergne and formalised an alliance with Raymond, count of Toulouse in 1226.¹¹ Despite these successes Richard was unable to attempt to advance into Poitou and challenge Capetian control.¹² A truce with France was agreed in 1227 and Richard prepared to sail home.¹³ Richard returned to England in May 1227 and was dubbed earl of Cornwall shortly afterward, perhaps in honour of his work in the king's name in France or in recognition of his eighteenth year or else simply as a sign of his status as brother to the king and, at the time, the designated heir to the throne.¹⁴

The newly designated earl was almost immediately involved in the political tensions which had begun in the country during his absence. Henry III was increasingly keen to exercise his own influence over royal government and shake off the shackles of a council-led machine which had governed during his minority rule, whilst his chief minister, Hubert de Burgh, was becoming increasingly unpopular amongst the baronage. Nicholas Vincent asserts that a significant pre-existing grudge between Richard and Hubert de Burgh was partially responsible for escalating the events which would follow. Richard had been raised by Peter de Maulay, an associate of Peter des Roches, and had been significant victim of de Burgh's earlier rise to political power. Therefore, Richard would be unlikely to favour de Burgh in any given situation.¹⁵ Tensions erupted only a few short months after Richard's return to England and involved his Cornish estates. In July, Richard attempted to eject

⁸ *Patent Rolls 1216- 1225*, p. 507.

⁹ *Foedera*, i, p. 178.

¹⁰ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 92-3.

¹¹ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 102.

¹² Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance*, pp. 165-6.

¹³ *Foedera*, i, pp. 186-7; *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, pp. 103-4.

¹⁴ *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 137; *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, p. 303.

¹⁵ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 265.

Waleran the German from one of the manors on his lands in Cornwall.¹⁶ Although little appears to have been written about Waleran himself, he seems to have been one of Henry's household officers, and had earlier been one of King John's mercenaries, eventually becoming a castellan, according to Matthew Paris.¹⁷ His name appears in various years during the reign of Henry III in the Close Rolls, Patent Rolls and a significant number of entries listed in the Calendar of Fine Rolls, indicating that he was heavily in the king's favour. In 1221 and 1222 he was listed as in control of the stannaries in Devon,¹⁸ whilst later in 1224 Henry granted him lands in Surrey, Hampshire and Dorset.¹⁹ After the death of William Marshal (II), Henry granted the Marshal's lands and castles in Ireland to his 'beloved and faithful Waleran Teutonicus' further indicating his continued good favour from the king.²⁰ The actual manor under dispute in 1227 does not appear to have been recorded in any documents, except for a passing reference to 'a certain manor' in Paris' *Chronica Majora*, although Paris does at least claim that the manor had been given to Waleran by Henry's father, King John.

Rex Johannes, Henrici pater, adhuc vivens, quoddam dederat manerium Walerano Teuthonico tunc de Berchamestede castellano, ad Cornubiae pertinens comitatum. Audiens autem comes Ricardus, qui nuper venerat de partibus transmarinis, quod manerium illud ad suum spectabat comitatum, praecepit villam saisiri in manu sua, donec sibi constaret quale jus Walerannus inde haberet.²¹

Given the apparent favourable nature of the relationship between Waleran and Henry III, it is relatively easy to understand why an order for immediate restitution would have been perhaps so readily granted to Waleran. Although there is no specific writ available in the records to support Paris' claims, an entry recorded in the Patent Rolls in 1227 calls on the tenants of a eight manors to be 'intendant to Waleran' as they had been before the county of Cornwall had been given to Richard:

¹⁶ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 123; There does not appear to be any record of a charter grant to Waleran in the surviving charter rolls for King John. *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, (ed.) T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission 1831). There are a number of entries within the *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, (ed.) T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission 1831) for Waleran but these unfortunately do not help our purpose.

¹⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 123.

¹⁸ *Fine Rolls 1220-1221*, no.86.

¹⁹ *Fine Rolls 1221-1222*, no.302.

²⁰ *Fine Rolls 1230-1231*, no.138.

²¹ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 123-4.

...Walerando Teutonico intendentes sint et respondentes, sicut fuerunt antequam dominus rex comitatum Cornubie comiti Ricardo fratri suo dedisset.²²

The eight manors listed were Alverton, Tybesta, Brannel, Helston, Penmayne, Tamerton, Moresk and Rillaton.²³ Tybesta, Brannel, Helston, Penmayne, Moresk and Rillaton were listed as held by Edmund of Cornwall in the accounts for the earldom of Cornwall in 1296-1297.²⁴ The only two manors not seemingly listed are Alverton and Tamerton. Henry Teutonicus is later listed as holding Alverton for 8s. 4d. and half a small fee of the new enfeoffment of earl Richard.²⁵ Despite the disputed manor in question not being named, were an agreement reached whereby Waleran and his heirs continued to hold it, it is distinctly possible that Alverton was the manor in question. Other than this reference, however, no other records survive to indicate any specific orders which may have been sent to Richard by Henry. Nonetheless, Richard believed he was within his rights as the earl of Cornwall to take control of the manor and was not easily assuaged, immediately heading to court to plead his own case with Henry. Richard claimed that the manor was part of the lands that belonged to Cornwall and he would submit to judgement on the matter by the king and the barons.²⁶ According to Paris, Henry and the justiciar Hubert de Burgh, were incensed at Richard's mention of the barons being involved in any judgement, and ordered that he immediately return the manor or 'leave the kingdom forever'. Whether an accurate account of events is that Richard was threatened with banishment or an exaggeration in reporting by Paris, is unclear. Richard left the court and set out to meet with William Marshal (II), earl of Pembroke.²⁷ It should be established that there are no records within the Curia Regis rolls for this period which indicate any litigation was formally lodged by either Waleran or Richard, so perhaps the matter was initially dealt with on a more personal scale than through judgement from the king's court.²⁸ Ultimately, however, despite the

²² *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 133.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ L.M. Midgley, *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall 1296-1297* (London: Royal Historical Society 1945), Vol. 1, p. xxiii.

²⁵ *Liber Feodorum, the Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill*, Vol.1 (London: H.M.S.O. 1923), p. 437.

²⁶ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 124.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ There appear to be no surviving eyre rolls for the relevant period in question which might highlight this matter further. Nor does there appear to be any reference to a feet of fine or final concord recording any settlement between Waleran and Richard. D. Crook, *Records of the General Eyre, PRO Handbook No. 20*

rebellion that followed, there does not appear to have been any formal clarification or resolution settled upon with regard to the manor in question, nor the rights toward it under dispute; certainly the Chancery rolls appear silent on the matter. Of course, it may be argued that Richard was suitably compensated for any perceived loss and, as a result, the matter was simply dropped, returning affairs to the status quo that had existed prior to when Richard had allegedly seized the manor.

The dispute with Waleran was, however, only one factor that may have been preying upon Richard's mind at this time. In addition to the fracas which arose surrounding the incident with Waleran, Richard had also been ordered to surrender the honour of Berkhamsted in July to Hubert de Burgh's nephew, Raymond. Raymond was married to Christiana, the widow of William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, and was given custody of Berkhamsted and the manor of Dartford in an attempt by Hubert to have members of his affinity in key postings or positions at court.²⁹ The order for Richard to surrender Berkhamsted, part of his mother's dower was sure to raise further potential discord between Richard and Hubert.³⁰ The justiciar referred to in the *Chronica Majora* is obviously Hubert de Burgh, further negative treatment from whom at court would serve, no doubt, only to exacerbate an already tense situation and potentially heighten Richard's anger at the perceived injustice being done toward him; and with such apparent ill treatment from his own brother, the countdown for the resultant rebellion was set.

Having met with William Marshal (II), Richard and the Marshal entered into an alliance with Gilbert de Clare, the earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who was married to the Marshal's sister Isabel,³¹ William de Warenne (IV) the earl of Surrey, whose second wife was Matilda, the Marshal's elder sister³² and with a third brother-in-law, William de Ferrers the

(London: H.M.S.O. 1982). *Cornwall Feet of Fines, Vol. 1, 1195-1377*, (ed.) J.H. Rowe (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society 1914).

²⁹ S.H.F. Johnston, 'The Lands of Hubert de Burgh', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 199 (July 1935), pp. 418-432; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 260.

³⁰ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 13; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 265-6.

³¹ T. A. Archer, 'Clare, Gilbert de, fifth earl of Gloucester and fourth earl of Hertford (c.1180-1230)', rev. Michael Altschul, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Oct 2005 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5437>, [accessed 10 June 2013]

³² N. Vincent, 'Warenne, William (IV) de, fifth earl of Surrey (d. 1240)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28739>, [accessed 12 October 2012].

earl of Derby, married to the Marshal's sister Sybil.³³ This familial alliance expanded to include Humphrey de Bohun (IV) the earl of Hereford and Essex,³⁴ who had been belted as earl in the same year as Richard and also the earl of Warwick, who does not appear to have had a direct connection with Richard but may have been allied with the Marshal. This was a most formidable group, representing the richest members of the baronage and those with the largest conglomeration of lands and influence. The group was made even more intimidating with the crucial inclusion of Ranulf (III) (Ranulf de Blundeville) the earl of Chester and Lincoln, a long-standing rival of Hubert de Burgh.³⁵ According to Wendover, a significant force of armed men was gathered at Stamford. No dates are given by Wendover for this gathering at Stamford, however, it can be safely assumed to fall between 7 July 1227, the date given for the start of the trouble, and prior to the issue of safe passage on 4 August 1227. The allied barons issued demands to the king, threatened civil war, demanded restitution for the injustice done to Richard and presented additional concerns against the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, calling for his powers to be curbed.³⁶ Grants were subsequently issued for safe passage to Richard, the Marshal and the earl of Chester,³⁷ and they met to parlay with the king at Northampton in August. Wendover recorded that Henry awarded Richard with his mother's dower lands, adding lands from the count of Brittany in England and the honour of the recently deceased count of Boulogne, in order to appease him.³⁸ The level of the actual awards can be assessed and it would certainly appear that Richard did not receive everything that Wendover claims, at least not immediately. Wallingford, Eye and Berkhamsted (part of the dower lands), for example, were seemingly not included in this award. Berkhamsted was excluded almost immediately,³⁹ while Wallingford⁴⁰ was not

³³ D. Crouch, 'Marshal, William (I), fourth earl of Pembroke (c.1146–1219)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, May 2007
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18126>, [accessed 12 October 2012].

³⁴ N. Vincent, 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV) de, second earl of Hereford and seventh earl of Essex (d. 1275)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, May 2010
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2775>, [accessed 12 October 2012].

³⁵ R. Eales, 'Ranulf (III), sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln (1170–1232)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Oct 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2716>, [accessed 12 October 2012]

³⁶ *Flores Historiarum*, iv, p. 142; N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 265–6; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 11.

³⁷ *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1225–1232*, p. 137.

³⁸ *Flores Historiarum*, iv, pp. 142–3.

³⁹ *Patent Rolls 1225–1232*, p. 145.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

granted until 1229 and Richard did not receive the grant of Eye until 1230;⁴¹ both at this stage were still only awarded 'during pleasure'. The lands designated as those of the count of Brittany in England referred to the honour of St. Valery, which included five demesne manors, with those of Beckley and Yarnton perhaps the most significant.⁴² Denholm-Young further argues that the honour of Boulogne mentioned by Wendover was in fact treated as an escheat during 1227-1230 and it is not known whether Richard held any part of it during these years.⁴³ The personal gains in terms of material benefits, as a result of Richard's rebellion against his brother in 1227, are therefore difficult to ascertain accurately. Denholm-Young asserts, however, that a suitable figure of approximately £1,000 per year is representative of the increase to Richard's personal finances.⁴⁴ Though it should be noted Richard's lands were still, at this time, held during crown pleasure and not in hereditary fee.

Aside from the material benefits established to Richard, little else of the rebellion's principal aims appeared to have been in any way successful, certainly with regard to the Perambulation of the Forest. Although a date was set for a previously cancelled summons at Westminster in October,⁴⁵ it is suggested by Denholm-Young that the meeting may never have occurred and Henry subsequently reverted to his previous actions toward forest reclamation in any case.⁴⁶ Henry most certainly continued to reclaim parts of the royal forest. In 1227 he annulled the perambulations of 1225,⁴⁷ and in 1228 he summoned the jurors from several counties to revise the perambulations.⁴⁸ The actions of the crown toward the forest would continue to be a matter of dispute between the crown and the baronage and was raised again as a factor during the period of baronial reform and rebellion of 1258 to 1267.⁴⁹

In terms of benefits or considerations granted to those who rose in rebellion in support of Richard, there appear to have been little in the way of gains for the other earls involved. The earls of Derby and Warenne were given awards shortly after the Northampton

⁴¹ *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, p. 287.

⁴² Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 14.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, Vol. 2., (ed.) T.D. Hardy (London: Record Commission 1833), pp. 212-3.

⁴⁶ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 13.

⁴⁷ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, Vol. 2, p. 206; *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, pp. 90, 169.

⁴⁸ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, Vol. 1, p. 386; *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, p. 103.

⁴⁹ R.F. Treharne, *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263* (Manchester University Press 1932 (1971)) pp. 182, 185.

parlay in August. The earl of Derby was awarded the land of Stebbing⁵⁰ on 8 August, whilst Warrene was given the town of Dilwyn on 12 August to hold until the rightful heir might recover it – presumably come of age – at which point the king would provide him with suitable compensation in escheats, wardships or marriages.⁵¹ Whether these awards were intended to pacify the earls in some semblance of goodwill and perhaps help to re-align them toward a more pro-royal stance, the Chancery rolls and chroniclers appear silent and one can only speculate as to the nature of these particular awards. Of the remaining earls joined with Richard, no other awards appear to have been granted in the immediate aftermath and it would appear that after Richard had been duly compensated, the rebellion effectively fizzled out and the various members dispersed following the meeting at Northampton.⁵²

Whether the gains Richard would have received, had there been no rebellion, would have been in any way reciprocal in nature or substantially different is, at the very least, hard to determine. Richard's position as brother to the king, and until the king had his own heir, heir to the throne, would have no doubt continued to bring him substantial awards, grants and increased influence, although perhaps one would expect for them to increase more so after he had come of age. Certainly it would appear that, to Richard, awards and privileges representative of his station were not materialising in a suitable enough timeframe.⁵³ It would not be difficult to afford here a view of Richard as a young noble, hampered by constraints of age, eager to divorce himself from the shackles of immaturity and take on, in full, the status and privilege to which he felt duly entitled, in the same fashion as his brother the king had managed, with his own emancipation in 1227. Nevertheless, Richard was reconciled to his brother and departed, seemingly content for the moment with his material gains at Northampton, particularly as he now had other residences of his own outside of Cornwall, in the form of Isleworth and Beckley.⁵⁴

Denholm-Young asserts that following the rebellion, although Richard received further marks of favour during the next two years, his 'doings and whereabouts cannot

⁵⁰ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 55.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 125; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 266.

⁵³ Comparisons can be drawn here with the reasons for the rebellion of 1173-4 by the sons of Henry II. See T.M. Jones, *War of the Generations: the revolt of 1173-4* (University Microfilms for Medieval Text Association 1980).

⁵⁴ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 14-15.

again be traced until the Breton campaign of 1230', although he does mention in footnotes that Richard may have been involved with the campaign in Kerry in 1228.⁵⁵ However, using the royal charter witness lists we can at least trace Richard's movements to some degree before 1230. He was listed as present at court at Windsor and Guildford in September 1227 standing as witness to three charters,⁵⁶ then again to one charter on 12 January 1228 at Sempringham and then witnessed two charters at Dunstable on 20 January 1228.⁵⁷ After this, the royal charter witness lists, or at least those that remain to us, purport only his absence during the remaining period until April 1229, at Windsor.⁵⁸ In reviewing the Liberate Rolls we can see a number of payments that were made to Richard in the immediate years after the rebellion. In February 1228, he was granted part of the farm of Waltham⁵⁹ (part of his mother's dower lands) and again in September,⁶⁰ whilst in May, he was awarded '100 marks of the king's gift'.⁶¹ Richard was also granted the wardship of John de Montague's lands.⁶² We are also able to ascertain that messengers of the king were sent to Richard in October 1228, though unfortunately no location for Richard is provided.⁶³ Additional payments continued to be made to Richard during 1229, including 100 marks of the king's gift in March and September,⁶⁴ whilst the next significant material gain in terms of land came in November 1229 when Richard was awarded Wallingford, to be held during pleasure.⁶⁵ Wallingford was a significant royal castle and town situated near a crossing of the river Thames and had been a royal borough since before the time of Edward the Confessor. The castle had been steadily strengthened over the years and extensively so during the reign of King John.⁶⁶ Wallingford was extremely valuable and comprised approximately 120 knights fees.⁶⁷

⁵⁵ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 14.

⁵⁶ *The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III 1226-1272*, Vol. 1, pp. 46-7.

⁵⁷ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, p. 52.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁵⁹ *Liberate Rolls*, p. 71.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁶² *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, p. 56.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 141.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁶⁶ 'The borough of Wallingford: Introduction and castle', *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 3* (eds.) P.H. Ditchfield and W. Page (1923), pp. 517-531, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43256> [accessed 29 June 2013].

⁶⁷ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 170.

Richard 'came of age' at the beginning of 1230 and was subsequently granted the honour of Eye,⁶⁸ given 1000 marks of the king's gift in April⁶⁹ and also awarded the grant of a significant wardship – the lands and heirs of Theobald Walter, Butler of Ireland, who held lands in both England and Ireland.⁷⁰ The Fine Rolls indicate that Theobald Walter had lands in at least five counties in England, Lancashire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Devon and Somerset, that formed part of the wardship.⁷¹ Whether these last three awards can be associated with either Richard's coming of age, in exchange for his support in the Breton campaign of 1230 or as an attempt to disengage Richard from the rebellious barons, or all of the above, is open to speculation. The Breton campaign was intended to restore Peter Mauclerc to the Duchy of Brittany and also some of the lost Angevin lands in France.⁷² Despite the large military contingent, the expedition was unsuccessful and left Henry with significant financial costs that he struggled to pay.⁷³ Richard's involvement in the expedition appears to have been limited to diplomatic efforts, negotiating a treaty of peace with France and an alliance with Brittany.⁷⁴ Perhaps though, the more significant event of 1230 for Richard was the death of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester on the Breton campaign, leaving the Marshal's sister Isabella, a favourable prospect as a widow.⁷⁵ Whether there was any prior discussion between the Marshal and Richard toward this end is unknown. However, five months later, in March 1231, Richard and Isabella were married. The marriage is supposed to have angered Henry III, according to the Tewkesbury annalist.⁷⁶ Denholm-Young, suggests that Henry's anger is likely to have resulted more from a lack of consultation and that reconciliation was swift, though he does not provide any further evidence in regard to this statement,⁷⁷ nor do there appear to be any documented reactions by other members of the court toward the marriage provided by the chronicles. The political ramifications of the marriage, however, were high, not least for Richard but also for Henry – and perhaps more pertinently, his justiciar, Hubert de Burgh.

⁶⁸ *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, p. 287.

⁶⁹ *Liberate Rolls*, p. 172.

⁷⁰ *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, p. 370; *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 388.

⁷¹ *Fine Rolls 1229-1230*, nos. 429, 430, 431, 458; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 15.

⁷² Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 16-18.

⁷³ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 267-8.

⁷⁴ *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, pp. 395, 399.

⁷⁵ *Annals of Margam*, AM i, p. 38; *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, p. 308; *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 125.

⁷⁶ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 78.

⁷⁷ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 19.

The marriage no doubt served to strengthen bonds between Richard and the Marshal affinity, in particular with his brothers-in-law, the earls of Pembroke, Derby and Norfolk; a prospect that is sure to have alarmed Hubert de Burgh. The marriage was likely to bring Richard into conflict with de Burgh regarding the assignment of dower lands in Gloucester. The custody of the estates and wardship of the earl of Gloucester's son had been granted to de Burgh after Gloucester's death.⁷⁸ The ties between Richard and the Marshal affinity presented a threat to de Burgh's control at court and opened the possibility of potential further conflict with de Burgh's southern Marcher lordship.⁷⁹ A month earlier, in February, Richard had been confirmed in possession of his mother's dower lands upon Henry's return from the abortive campaign in France.⁸⁰ The lands contained within the dower were extensive and covered areas including Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Exeter and Kinton in Devon, Wiltshire, Essex, Buckinghamshire, Rutland and Queenhithe in London.⁸¹ Accompanied by the possibility of strengthened ties with the Marshal affinity, the marriage to Isabella, countess of Gloucester, would provide Richard with access to even more substantial lands and the potentially lucrative wardship of his new step-son. The lands held by the earl of Gloucester were also more than substantial and included lands in no less than nineteen counties: Somerset, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Worcestershire, Lincolnshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Surrey, Sussex, Gloucestershire, Hampshire and Kent.⁸² In terms of the monetary value this may have represented to Richard, Hubert de Burgh had paid 7000 marks for the rights to the custody of the lands in November 1230.⁸³ In addition to this, the marriage strengthened Richard's position with regard to the crown, should Henry die before having any sons, as the line of succession would pass to any sons that Richard and Isabella had together. There does not appear, however, to be any commentary on the possibility of Richard inheriting detailed within the chronicles. Any fears of strengthened ties between Richard and William Marshal (II), as a result of the marriage, would have been quelled when, only a week after the wedding, the

⁷⁸ *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 412; Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England*, p. 60.

⁷⁹ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 271-2.

⁸⁰ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 129.

⁸¹ *Fine Rolls 1220-1221*, nos. 319-322; N. Vincent, 'Isabella of Angouleme: John's Jezebel' in *King John: New Interpretations*, (ed.) S.D. Church (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2007), pp. 165-219.

⁸² *Fine Rolls 1230-1231*, nos. 18-22.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, no. 18.

Marshal untimely died.⁸⁴ This unexpected event would serve to once again thrust Richard towards the path of rebellion, as the dispute over the Marshal's inheritance took hold.

The Marshal's castles in England and Wales were passed over to administrators acting for the Exchequer at the behest of Hubert de Burgh.⁸⁵ Richard himself was given custody of the Briouze lands in Wales⁸⁶ and, in addition, a number of estates in Ireland which had been previously held by William Marshal (II).⁸⁷ Nicholas Vincent argues that throughout this, there was an 'implicit threat' to de Burgh on two counts from Richard. Firstly, that through his marriage to the widowed countess of Gloucester, Richard would come into potential conflict with de Burgh over the assignment of any of Isabella of Gloucester's dower lands; and secondly, the placement of the Briouze lands in Richard's custody represented the potential for conflict with de Burgh's own Welsh lands.⁸⁸ In the event, the conflict did not originate with Richard but came, perhaps more so as a result of de Burgh's own actions, from Richard Marshal, William's brother and claimant to the earldom of Pembroke.

Hubert de Burgh is alleged to have persuaded Henry that he should not immediately grant the lands of the earldom of Pembroke to Richard Marshal, on the pretence of Richard's allegiance to the French king as a Norman baron, which, as such, barred him from inheriting English lands; placing the lands in the hands of royal administrators instead. This action contravened an earlier agreement made between William Marshal and Henry, listed in the Patent Rolls, that should William die, Richard Marshal would be allowed to inherit, despite his French residency.⁸⁹ Vincent suggests that de Burgh may have had 'sinister motives'; his apparent attempts to gain additional control of the lands in the Welsh Marches, reclaim one of the most significant English landed honours for the Exchequer and in the process dispose of a possible rival at court.⁹⁰ Were this to be the true case, then we would indeed view these actions as 'sinister', although when placed within the context of

⁸⁴ *Annals of Margam*, AM i, p.78; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p.78; *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 126; L. Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort: A Rebel Countess in Medieval England* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group 2012), p. 36.

⁸⁵ *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 436; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 19.

⁸⁶ *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 428; B. Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches, English Aristocracy and Frontier Society 1087-1265* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008), p. 208.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

⁸⁸ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 272; R.F. Walker, Hubert de Burgh and Wales 1218-1232, *The English Historical Review*, Vol.87. No. 344 (1972), pp. 465-494.

⁸⁹ *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 400; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 272.

⁹⁰ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 272.

the political movements at this juncture, perhaps there was little in the way of an alternate response that de Burgh could have taken. In any event, the proposed plan went awry almost immediately with disastrous consequences for de Burgh. The tenants of the Marshal estates in Ireland and Wales refused admittance to crown agents and rumours surfaced that Richard Marshal was planning an invasion from France. Ports were closed against him and orders were issued for his arrest should he attempt to land.⁹¹ Perhaps fearing that Richard of Cornwall would become connected to any action, through his familial ties with the Marshals, Richard was stripped of Wallingford. Custody of the land was given to Henry's household steward, Godfrey of Crowcombe.⁹² The Briouze lands in the Marches, which formerly belonged to William Marshal (II) that Richard had been in possession of for a matter of weeks, were also removed and given to the custody of Hubert de Burgh.⁹³ Whether Richard had been involved in any plan with the Marshal affinity or not before now, such action was hardly likely to prevent him from immediately placing his weight behind the Marshal cause. The resulting confusion in the Welsh border castles also provided an opportune moment for the Welsh Prince Llywelyn to press his advantage and in June 1231, his forces attacked.⁹⁴ Henry was left with little alternative but to seek a resolution with Richard Marshal or risk outright disaster. Grants were issued to Richard Marshal for safe conduct to travel to England on 22 June, in order that he might do homage and receive his inheritance.⁹⁵ Vincent also states that on the same day these papers were issued for safe conduct to the Marshal, parts of Wallingford were restored to Richard of Cornwall, 'the town but not the honour of Wallingford',⁹⁶ citing a reference from the Fine Rolls.⁹⁷ Upon analysis of this record it would appear that this is an error on Vincent's part. Not only does the date here appear to be incorrect – it is recorded as 23 June – but the notation on the Fine Rolls does not appear to reference a restoration of any part of Wallingford to Richard at this stage. Although the record concerns only the farm of Wallingford, it states that the

⁹¹ *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, p. 582.

⁹² Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 272; *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 434; For more information on Geoffrey of Crowcombe see D. Carpenter, 'The career of Godfrey of Crowcombe', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles c.1150-1500*, (ed.) C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle, L. Scales (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2008), pp. 26-54.

⁹³ *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 434, Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches*, p. 209.

⁹⁴ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 127.

⁹⁵ *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, p. 590; *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 438.

⁹⁶ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 273.

⁹⁷ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 273, fn.47, the citation for the Fine Rolls given is C60/30, m.4.

mayor and bailiffs should be intendant to Richard 'neither for the farm of their vill nor for other things...until the king orders otherwise'.⁹⁸

23 June. Windsor. *Concerning the farm of Wallingford*. Order to the mayor and bailiffs of Wallingford to be intendant henceforth to R. earl of Cornwall neither for the farm of their vill nor for other things pertaining to that vill, until the king orders otherwise, but they are to answer the king, rendering the aforesaid farm of their vill at the Exchequer as they were accustomed to render before they had been intendant to the said earl by the king's order.⁹⁹

Despite the letters of safe conduct, by the beginning of August Richard Marshal had yet to arrive at court, by which point Henry was at least able to enter into Wales, establishing his base at Painscastle.¹⁰⁰ In the midst of this debacle came possibly Hubert de Burgh's worst nightmare, the return of his hated political adversaries from five years of crusade: Peter des Roches, accompanied by Peter de Maulay, earl Ranulf of Chester and William de Forz, the earl of Aumale.¹⁰¹ William de Forz and Ranulf, the earl of Chester had a particular antipathy toward Hubert de Burgh; they had been previously affiliated with Falkes de Bréauté and were part of a baronial demonstration in 1223 which had demanded de Burgh's removal as Justiciar.¹⁰² This represented a significant power shift within political circles at court, where until now de Burgh had held almost sole sway over Henry. Within days of their arrival, Richard Marshal was allowed to perform homage to the king and become the new earl of Pembroke.¹⁰³ More significantly for Richard of Cornwall, 10 August saw reconciliation with Henry and the subsequent award of the county of Cornwall, for the first time in hereditary fee, as opposed to during the king's pleasure; Cornwall was granted for 5 knights fees and the honour of Wallingford was given of the king's gift to hold for 3 knights fees.¹⁰⁴ Richard was able to obtain an astonishingly favourable deal; the number of

⁹⁸ *Fine Rolls 1230-1231*, no. 202; TNA: PRO C60/30, m.4.

⁹⁹ *Fine Rolls 1230-1231*, no. 202; TNA: PRO C60/30, m.4.

¹⁰⁰ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 273.

¹⁰¹ *Flores Historiarum*, iv, p. 224; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 273.

¹⁰² B. English, 'Forz, William de, count of Aumale (1191x6-1241)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Oct 2005 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29476>, [accessed 20 June 2013]; D. J. Power, 'Bréauté, Sir Falkes de (d. 1226)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3305>, [accessed 20 June 2013]; D. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London: Hambledon Continuum 1996), p. 48.

¹⁰³ *Close Rolls 1227-1231*, p. 541.

¹⁰⁴ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 139.

knights' fees seems to be incredibly low for such a substantial county as Cornwall.¹⁰⁵ It is interesting to note that Denholm-Young does not make any mention of the involvement of Peter des Roches in this reconciliation, seemingly assuming that Henry himself was singularly responsible, further suggesting that Henry was 'taking advantage' of de Burgh's absence and the issuing of the charters marked a step toward his freedom from de Burgh's influence.¹⁰⁶ The actual charters were witnessed by Peter des Roches and Richard's former tutor Peter de Maulay, both of whom had last stood witness to charters in 1227 and, perhaps in an equally significant move, members of the alliance of earls who had helped Richard in 1227: Ranulf the earl of Chester and Lincoln, William de Warrene the earl of Surrey, William de Ferrers the earl of Derby and Humphrey de Bohun the earl of Hereford.¹⁰⁷ Richard had finally reached a more self-assured position, holding land in fee rather than by the simple grace of the king and there was little that would prevent him from increasing his lot over the next few years.

¹⁰⁵ Consultation of the original charter roll in The National Archives TNA: PRO C53/25, m.4, shows that the awards for Cornwall and Wallingford of 5 and 3 knights' fees are correct.

¹⁰⁶ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁷ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, p. 106.

Chapter 2

1231 – 1234: First marriage, the 'Marshal rebellion' and the emergence of personal majority rule

Richard's immediate movements after the settlement in August 1231 at Painscastle which granted him Cornwall in hereditary right are not clear, though it is most likely that he either set off to see to affairs at his new estates or was involved in the continuing situation in the Marches. While Henry set to work rebuilding the defences of Painscastle, Llywelyn continued his offensive and successfully attacked ten other castles in the Marches.¹ Richard's next traceable movement is shown when he witnessed several charters at court at Westminster on 18 October and 26 October,² by which time a truce had been negotiated with Llywelyn, calling a temporary halt to further hostilities in the Marches.³

The political dynamics within Henry's court had changed considerably due to the returning nobles, with Hubert de Burgh's position as chief minister now under considerable threat. A new power bloc began to establish itself under Peter des Roches. Peter de Maulay, accompanied with Henry's reconciliation with the new younger earls, his brother Richard and Richard Marshal represented a group demonstratively antagonistic toward Hubert de Burgh, who as a result, became increasingly isolated as his allies at court swiftly dwindled.⁴ The nature of foreign policy also began to change, with an assemblage of nobles who were more inclined toward some form of reclamation or reconsolidation of lost French lands, than had previously seemed to be the case under the helm of Hubert de Burgh, whose own landed interests were purely domestic. Henry himself was not quite yet ready to declare himself openly in favour of Peter des Roches or Hubert de Burgh, instead choosing to award various grants to both men, in a series of seeming attempts at appeasement.⁵ A number of awards were also made to the newer earls, including a grant awarded to Richard of Cornwall. Richard was granted the town of Wallingford in May 1232, in hereditary fee. The

¹ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 127.

² *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, pp. 107-8.

³ *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, pp. 452-3, 460.

⁴ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 273-280.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-5.

honour of Wallingford, given to Richard the previous year to be held in the king's gift, was now also granted in hereditary fee.⁶

The political manoeuvring between Peter des Roches and Hubert de Burgh finally came to a head at Woodstock in July 1232. The assembled nobles included Hubert de Burgh's most significant political enemies: Peter des Roches, Ranulf the earl of Chester, Richard earl of Cornwall and Richard Marshal earl of Pembroke. The exact circumstances are difficult to ascertain, though Matthew Paris records charges issued by Henry sometime later in 1239, which included one of treason; that de Burgh had violently threatened the king with a knife at Woodstock.⁷ Whether this particular incident is true or is merely a case of abject propaganda is unclear. It is conceivable that Hubert de Burgh may have argued with Henry, particularly in view of the significant grants made to Peter de Rivallis, Peter des Roches' son. On 28 July 1232, de Rivallis was awarded the office of treasurer and chamberlain to the exchequer in Ireland.⁸ Accompanied by a whole raft of other benefits, these awards could be seen as a direct challenge to de Burgh's position. In combination with the changing political dynamics and Hubert's declining favourable position at court, it is not surprising therefore that, as a result of such pressures exerted upon him after such a long period in a favourable position, some altercation or argument between the two men may have taken place. Whether the matter was as serious as is later claimed in the chronicles⁹ or not, de Burgh left the court at the end of July and is absent from subsequent royal charter witness lists. He still, however, at this stage retained the office of Justiciar, a position that Peter des Roches and his allies had no intention of seeing remain as the status quo for longer than was necessary.

Retaliatory political moves began against de Burgh the following month. On 8 August, Henry issued orders that de Burgh surrender a number of royal castles in his custody, including the Tower of London, Windsor Castle and Dover.¹⁰ Orders were also compiled on 25 August, commanding that de Burgh leave the country, '...exeat a terra Anglie...'¹¹ however, these were cancelled and he was ordered to present himself at court. De Burgh chose instead, perhaps wisely, given the apparent animosity toward him, to seek

⁶ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 155.

⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 618-9.

⁸ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 166.

⁹ *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, p. 73; *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 618-9.

¹⁰ *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 496.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

sanctuary.¹² During September and October Hubert de Burgh's castles and lands were taken under crown jurisdiction and entrusted to Peter de Rivallis.¹³ There are reports indicating that a mob of Londoners made attempts to forcibly remove de Burgh from his place of sanctuary but this manoeuvre was headed off by earl Ranulf of Chester. Finally, de Burgh was summoned on 23 October to stand trial in London.¹⁴ He was duly sentenced to be imprisoned at Devizes Castle under the custody of Richard earl of Cornwall, William de Warenne earl of Surrey, Richard Marshal earl of Pembroke and John de Lacy earl of Lincoln, any lands he held of the crown were to be forfeit, whilst any other lands would be held as surety by his custodians.¹⁵ Hubert de Burgh's fall from grace into ignominy was sure, swift and brutal. The dispute over the de Burgh's consolidated riches, however, would plunge the country into yet more disorder and lead to yet another rebellion.

In terms of political factions, there were now two principal groups at court; those allied to Peter des Roches and those allied to Richard Marshal. In November, Richard of Cornwall saw the first real fruits of de Burgh's fall to come in his direction, in the form of the grant of his wife Isabella of Gloucester's dower lands, which had previously been in the custody of de Burgh.¹⁶ Richard was also granted the manor of Sedgebrook, part of the honour of Eye, on 7 November 1232.¹⁷ However, these do seem to be the only benefits he received.

The principal beneficiaries of de Burgh's fall from grace, instead, were Peter de Rivallis and Peter des Roches.¹⁸ In comparison, nobles such as Richard of Cornwall, Richard Marshal and their associates were essentially left out in the cold during this period of apparent abundant wealth distribution. Peter des Roches continued to receive awards, including on 17 September a grant of a free warren in all his manors to himself and his descendants.¹⁹ Peter de Rivallis, acting as king's agent was placed as custodian of Hubert de Burgh's estates, and although sections of these lands were redistributed, he remained in sole control of the majority, in conjunction with a separate interest in Dover's port.²⁰ Also

¹² *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, pp. 86-7.

¹³ *Fine Rolls 1231-1232*, nos. 217-220.

¹⁴ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 161.

¹⁵ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, pp. 28-30.

¹⁶ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 164.

¹⁷ *Fine Rolls 1231-1232*, no. 14.

¹⁸ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 318-9.

¹⁹ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 169; *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 109.

²⁰ *Fine Rolls 1231-1232*, nos. 269, 270, 279; *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 500.

during this period, although the castle of Devizes had been placed in the custody of the four earls during de Burgh's imprisonment, there appears to have been a division between control of the castle keep and the surrounding areas; the keep to be in the custody of the earls, while the bailey and its surrounds were granted to Peter de Rivallis.²¹ Although on 3 November Henry accepted the homage of Gilbert Basset who received full seisin of the lands of his father,²² he was not so fortunate in the redistribution of Devizes. During this process, Gilbert, the castle's previous custodian, a close associate of Richard Marshal, was replaced.²³ In a further snub to Basset on 11 October, de Rivallis was also granted custody of St Briavel's and the Forest of Dean, once again removing Gilbert Basset as constable.²⁴ Following the death of Ranulf the earl of Chester in October 1232,²⁵ the redistribution of his lands caused further controversy. In November, Richard Marshal was granted two of the three manors contained within the English estates of William de Fougères, previously held in custody by the earl of Chester.²⁶ However, the manor of Scole in Diss was granted to Engelard de Cigogne, an associate of Peter des Roches and a man with no apparent claim upon the lands.²⁷ One would have expected all of the manors within this estate to be passed to Richard Marshal, yet the denial of an award of the whole estate, with the grant to Engelard, no doubt represented a palpable insult to the Marshal. The remaining custodial lands of the earl of Chester were, perhaps unsurprisingly, passed to the control of Peter de Rivallis.²⁸ Despite any tensions that may have been simmering steadily within political circles at this stage, Richard Marshal remained in close attendance at court as Henry travelled to the peace negotiations with Llywelyn in the Marches. Instead it was Peter des Roches who was absent from court. The resultant negotiated truce with Llywelyn was designed to last for three years.²⁹ However, the truce did not last for even a short amount of time and was broken by Llywelyn, who threatened the Briouze lands, early in 1233. Together with Richard Marshal, Richard of Cornwall attacked Llywelyn driving him from Radnor; they then re-

²¹ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 115; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 19.

²² *Fine Rolls 1232-1233*, no. 8.

²³ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p.318.

²⁴ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 169; *Fine Rolls 1231-1232*, no. 290; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p.318.

²⁵ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 87.

²⁶ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 164.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁸ *Fine Rolls 1231-1232*, nos. 308-310.

²⁹ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 88.

fortified the castle of Radnor in March 1233. The Tewkesbury annalist provides a date for this as occurring on 12 March.³⁰

During these first few months of 1233, political divisions between Richard Marshal and Peter des Roches deepened. In February, Gilbert Basset was again deprived of custody of a manor, this time of Upavon in Wiltshire, in favour of Peter de Maulay.³¹ Gilbert Basset could stand the insults no longer and absented himself from court immediately following the Upavon decision.³² Richard Marshal himself would have no doubt been placed in a substantially difficult position, as a result of one of his closest and most loyal allies humiliated in such a fashion. If the position was not difficult enough, the following day, Richard himself, was ordered to surrender custody of lands he and the other earls (Cornwall, Lincoln and Surrey) held in surety for Hubert de Burgh, to be handed over to Robert Passelewe, an ally of Peter des Roches.³³ After the attack at Radnor, Richard Marshal headed to Ireland to gather support;³⁴ he is last recorded witnessing a charter on 8 February at court in Westminster.³⁵ The events at Radnor in March are purportedly the last known occasion at which Richard of Cornwall and the earl of Pembroke were together, ahead of the rebellion.³⁶ Richard of Cornwall's movements between March and the summer courts are mysterious to the point of frustration, due to the lack of documentary evidence. We know that Richard's tailor received a grant from the king in April but Richard's exact location is not noted.³⁷ Richard was first documented at court again in June at Winchester when hostages were taken from some of the Marcher barons, ('presentibus... comite Ricardo...'). One of Richard's knights, Andrew de Chanceaux, was also listed as present.³⁸ Also in June, perhaps most timely given the circumstances, Richard was granted the profits of the judicial eyre that had been called in Cornwall.³⁹ Richard's next appearance occurred at Wallingford

³⁰ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 88.

³¹ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 187.

³² Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 339.

³³ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 188.

³⁴ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 375.

³⁵ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, p. 126.

³⁶ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 24. Although the documentary evidence neither confirms nor denies this statement, we can assume that through the Marshal's absence in Ireland, the likelihood of further meetings between the two men prior to the events later in 1233 are negligible. However, Richard's movements between March and July 1233 are undocumented.

³⁷ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 209.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 227; *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 135.

on 3 July, where he witnessed several charters to Hugh of Northwold, bishop of Ely.⁴⁰ He was then present in London for the council at Westminster and witnessed charters again on 9 August.⁴¹ It is during this time that we receive Roger of Wendover's tale of the earl of Pembroke, heading to the council but retreating after being warned by his sister, Richard of Cornwall's wife Isabella, regarding a plot to treat him in a similar fashion to Hubert de Burgh. Were we to believe Wendover's account, the earl of Pembroke, forewarned of potential treachery turned around and fled to Wales during the night.⁴² However, this story should not be taken at face value. Letters of safe conduct were issued to Richard Marshal, Roger Bigod the earl of Norfolk and their men, 'returning to Wales', at Windsor on 3 August.⁴³ Richard Marshal therefore, it is suggested by Denholm-Young, must have reached the court in London at some point to have received such letters.⁴⁴ Although the granting of 'safe conduct', by its own very nature, suggests a breach of some kind had occurred with the council, whether or not their presence was required in order to facilitate this is questionable.⁴⁵ Some form of settlement or truce had been negotiated between the two parties, as is evidenced by an entry in the Fine Rolls.⁴⁶ The entry on 23 August 1233 states that Richard Marshal was granted safe conduct, following petition from certain magnates, on the understanding that the Marshal and his men, presented themselves to the king's mercy and the judgement of the court. We know that Richard was present around this time in London; he attended a council in Westminster,⁴⁷ and also witnessed two charters at Westminster on 9 August.⁴⁸ Whether he had any personal involvement in counselling his brother toward clemency and safe passage for the Marshal, ensuring that he was able to leave the area, ahead of any armed militia, can be only assumed at best. There is certainly no evidence to confirm such a scenario. Nonetheless, the militia were recalled and orders

⁴⁰ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, p.135

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-7.

⁴² *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 246.

⁴³ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 22.

⁴⁴ *Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall*, p. 26.

⁴⁵ It is possible that there is some confusion regarding dates here in Denholm-Young. At a similar time, it is noted that Richard Marshal and his men gathered under arms at High Wycombe, prompting the raising of militia by Henry, ordered to arrest anyone under arms. Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 386. Vincent suggests that communication could have occurred between the two camps, rebel and royal, prior to the granting of safe conduct on 3 August. Richard Marshal did not therefore have to be necessarily present himself at court for this to have occurred.

⁴⁶ *Fine Rolls 1232-1233*, no. 311.

⁴⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 247.

⁴⁸ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, pp. 136-7.

were given on 7 August for the assembly of the fleet to take place in Pembroke, rather than previously at Ilfracombe; orders that would have no doubt been impossible had the loyalty of Richard Marshal been in any doubt at the time.⁴⁹

Any negotiated settlement, however, was short-lived. Henry issued orders on 13 August to confiscate the lands of many of Richard Marshal's close allies: Gilbert Basset, Alan Basset, Warin Basset, Philip Basset, Richard Siward, Thomas Grelley, and Walter of Clifford.⁵⁰ Two days later on 15 August, Henry began granting the confiscated land to other, perhaps more favoured and loyal men. The Fine Rolls entry specifically states that the land was being confiscated because they had gathered under arms '... with the Earl Marshal at Wycombe'.⁵¹ The lands were almost as numerous as the number of men whose lands were confiscated. They stretched across approximately twenty-five counties: Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Rutland, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Lancaster, Essex, Warwickshire, Devon, Buckinghamshire, Kent, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Hampshire, Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire. The lands of some thirty-six men at least were confiscated and divided between approximately sixty or more others. Of these, only a small number were major barons and the only earl who appears to have been included is John de Lacy, the earl of Lincoln. There were initially no grants to Richard of Cornwall, although that would change. The remaining men included approximately twenty three royal household knights.⁵² A week later, Henry issued writs ordering the confiscation of the lands of Richard Marshal and Roger Bigod.⁵³ The Fine Roll entry for 23 August provides Henry's supposed justification for such a significant manoeuvre. It would seem that for the earlier grant of safe passage, Richard Marshal had offered assurances that he and his men would submit themselves to the mercy of the king. However, instead of presenting themselves as promised, the rebels are said to have captured the castles of Hay and Ewyas and fortified them against the king, and destroyed the house of Phillip le Bret.⁵⁴ Matthew Paris alleges that Peter des Roches bribed the earls of Chester and Lincoln with the sum of 1000 marks to remain on the royalist side.

⁴⁹ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, pp. 318-9; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 387.

⁵⁰ *Fine Rolls 1232-1233*, nos. 277-294.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, no. 295.

⁵² *Fine Rolls 1232-1233*, nos. 295-297; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 388. Vincent lists those who are deemed to qualify as household knights in his notes section, whilst the Fine Rolls identify approximately fifty four separate individuals as recipients of rebel land.

⁵³ *Fine Rolls 1232-1233*, nos. 311, 312.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

He also implies that Richard of Cornwall was similarly persuaded, arguing that Richard, although he had previously adhered to the Marshal's cause, had earlier returned his favour to his brother.⁵⁵ There are most definitely factors which may buoy the charge of bribery. Amongst the many grants of confiscated rebel lands, Richard was granted Warin Basset's lands in Cornwall,⁵⁶ however, more significantly, on 25 August he received the estates and wardship of the earl of Devon, which included the castles of Christchurch and Carisbrooke.⁵⁷ These had previously been granted to Peter des Roches, only weeks earlier on 12 August.⁵⁸ The situation deteriorated rapidly and on 28 August, Henry summoned the earls, barons and knights he had earlier called to meet at Gloucester to move to Hereford.⁵⁹ By 7 September his forces had retaken the castles of Hay and Ewyas, shortly thereafter Henry had laid siege to Richard Marshal's castle at Usk.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, Richard of Cornwall had been granted more land. At Hay on 2 September, he was granted custody of the land of Richard Neirnut in Hitcham, Buckinghamshire.⁶¹ It can be presumed from the date and location of this grant that Richard was with the king's forces as they moved against the rebels. Richard is not mentioned, however, on the surviving two royal charter witness lists available for September 1233.⁶² A truce appears to have been called around 7 September and by 17 September a number of the rebels had surrendered; their lands were restored to them in exchange for pledges of good conduct.⁶³ A number of castles were withheld by the crown, including the castle of Usk which was granted to the custody of Henry de Trubevill on 18 September.⁶⁴

Traditionally it has been argued that Richard Marshal led the rebellion against the king.⁶⁵ However, work by Nicholas Vincent has identified that rather, it was through the actions of members of his own affinity, that the Marshal was left with little option but to be dragged along in its wake.⁶⁶ During the latter weeks of September 1233 Warin Basset, Philip

⁵⁵ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 248.

⁵⁶ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 252.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 23.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶⁰ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 399-400.

⁶¹ *Fine Rolls 1232-1233*, no. 334.

⁶² *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, p. 137.

⁶³ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, pp. 257-262.

⁶⁴ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 25.

⁶⁵ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 28.

⁶⁶ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 396-8.

Basset and Richard Siward, part of the Marshal affinity, ignored any perceived truce and continued assaults, prompting Henry to send his steward, Amando de Sancto, to 'follow and take...his enemies' and ordered sheriffs, bailiffs and constables to give aid to him.⁶⁷

Compounding the situation for the royalist camp, Hubert de Burgh escaped from Devizes and was dragged from sanctuary in a local church, causing frictions between Henry and the bishop of Salisbury, who promptly excommunicated those responsible and demanded that the king allow Hubert to return to sanctuary.⁶⁸ Then during the delayed council meeting in October, worse news reached Henry; Richard Marshal had allied with Llywelyn in Wales and retaken the castle of Usk, routing the royal forces.⁶⁹ On 17 October Henry authorised the seizure of all the Marshal's estates and transferred them to the custody of Peter de Rivallis. On the following day Richard of Cornwall would receive his latest prize for his continued loyalty to the crown. The land that Gilbert Basset held in Wallingford and a number of Richard Marshal's more significant manors, Sturminster in Dorset, Crendon in Buckinghamshire, Badgworth in Gloucestershire, Hampstead in Berkshire and Caversham in Oxfordshire.⁷⁰ On 29 October more bad news was to reach Henry. Hubert de Burgh had been taken from Devizes during yet another raid by Richard Siward and joined the rebel party.⁷¹ Richard Marshal, in alliance with Llywelyn, and now Hubert de Burgh were in rebellion against Henry. The latter prompting the distinct possibility of Scottish involvement via Hubert de Burgh's connection to his brother-in-law, King Alexander.⁷²

The knights and barons were again raised and summoned to meet at Hereford, while Henry headed toward the castle of Grossmont. It would seem that due to spatial considerations the baggage train was left overnight outside the castle. The rebel forces subsequently ambushed and looted the supply train, although Richard Marshal himself is said to have stood apart from the attack.⁷³ Complicated by poor finances, Henry was forced to return to Hereford and then in December to Gloucester.⁷⁴ In December 1233, Richard Siward had instigated further raids; attacking the manor of the justiciar and Richard of

⁶⁷ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 26.

⁶⁸ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 250; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 27.

⁶⁹ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, pp. 90-91; *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 251; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 412.

⁷⁰ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 281.

⁷¹ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 253; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 90.

⁷² Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 417-8.

⁷³ *Flores Historiarum*, iv, pp.278-9; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 91; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 418.

⁷⁴ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 81; *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 253; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 91; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 418-420.

Cornwall's favoured manor at Beckley. Richard's personal movements during this period remain unclear due to a lack of record sources. The royal charter witness lists show no entries for him between 9 August 1233 and 13 November 1234. A grant was made to him in March 1234 of the manor of Haughley in fee.⁷⁵ Richard appeared at court on 14 March and witnessed a charter to the abbess of St Mary, Winchester.⁷⁶ This seems to be his only documented attendance however, other than the consecration of Edmund as archbishop of Canterbury on 2 April 1234. Despite the tensions during the winter, Richard appears to have remained away from court, perhaps more focused on the security of his own holdings, following the reprisals against him by the rebels. During this time Henry retreated steadily to Winchester and Matthew Paris notes that a truce occurred early in 1234 between Richard Marshal and Henry.⁷⁷ This is recorded shortly before the Westminster Parliament in February 1234. The terms of the truce do not appear to be known. At the February Parliament Henry successfully deepened tensions with the clergy, in particular, Alexander Stainsby, bishop of Coventry, with whom he allegedly remonstrated for being too close with the Marshal, and Edmund of Abingdon, archbishop elect of Canterbury.⁷⁸ Edmund focused criticism toward Peter des Roches, accusing him of numerous wrongdoings against the general populace, causing the estrangement of Richard Marshal. He also accused des Roches and Peter de Rivallis of financial misconduct and daring to ignore church sanctions. Henry was given an ultimatum: dismiss his advisors or face the potential of being excommunicated.⁷⁹

The tenure of Peter des Roches was increasingly in doubt as the council met again in March, with the clergy, guided by Edmund determined to seek negotiations with the Welsh. The bishops of Coventry and Rochester negotiated a truce with Llywelyn, the terms of which were communicated to the court and were given assent, pending a meeting of the council in London.⁸⁰ Safe conducts were granted to clerks of Llywelyn and Richard Marshal to travel to confirm with the king the details of the truce,⁸¹ whilst orders were issued to cease hostilities

⁷⁵ *Close Rolls 1231-1247*, p. 385.

⁷⁶ *Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, p. 115.

⁷⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 268.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-271; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 429.

⁸⁰ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 555; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 432.

⁸¹ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 41.

in the Welsh Marches.⁸² The break with Peter des Roches' regime came relatively swiftly. According to Matthew Paris, the new archbishop is alleged to have again threatened Henry with excommunication, whereupon Henry is said to have capitulated, ordered des Roches away and removed Peter de Rivallis from office. Although, the removal of Peter des Roches and his son, Peter de Rivallis, was perhaps not as swift as Paris implies, it can be said that it was at this stage, finally rid of his old advisors, when Henry's majority rule truly began.⁸³ Richard's personal opinions regarding des Roches' removal are unknown and no specific reaction appears to have been recorded in the chronicles. We can presume, however, that his response was supportive of Henry III, as Richard continued to receive awards during this time. In January 1234 he was allowed to tallage his lands, including those of Wallingford and Berkhamsted.⁸⁴ He was granted the rights to the fortieth of the Briouze lands in February,⁸⁵ while the Briouze castles which Richard Marshal had seized were returned to him on 18 May 1234.⁸⁶ The honour of Abbergavenny, which had also been lost during the Marshal rebellion, was restored to Richard on 2 June.⁸⁷ Along with the award of Haughley in March 1234, Richard would add more lands to his holdings across the next twelve months. In January 1235 he was granted the manor of Knaresborough for two knights fees,⁸⁸ as well as the wardship of the Briouze heirs with custody of the estates.⁸⁹ Also, in February 1235 he was awarded the manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey, again to hold for the service of two knights fees. As with the fall of Hubert de Burgh, the chief benefactor of lands seized following the falls of Peter des Roches and Peter de Rivallis, was once again, Richard of Cornwall.

⁸² *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 43.

⁸³ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 272; *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 136; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 92; Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 435-6.

⁸⁴ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 363.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

⁸⁶ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 45.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁸⁸ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 191; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 90.

⁸⁹ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 89.

Chapter 3

1235-1247: The final rebellion, second marriage and the rise of fiscal control

After the fall of Peter des Roches and the end of the Marshal rebellion in 1234, there appears to have been a period of relative tranquillity between Richard of Cornwall and his brother, the king. Richard was present at court throughout 1235 and a number of grants were made in his favour. He was at Westminster on 27 and 28 January.¹ Again on 9 February, Richard was at court, this time in Dover, where he witnessed nine charters.² Less than two weeks later he was recorded as present at Westminster on 19 and 20 February.³ Richard does not appear on the royal charter witness lists, those that survive or are legible, during March, and it is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that he might have returned to his earldom, or perhaps toured his newly acquired manors, during this time. His next appearance occurred in London between 20 and 25 April, again at Westminster.⁴ Richard was recorded as present at Westminster the following week on 4 May, before the court moved to Rochester. Richard seems to have travelled with his brother, with his presence indicated on several charters of 6 May.⁵ Richard and Henry were together at Dover on 11 May to see the departure of their sister Isabella to Germany to marry Frederick II.⁶

During the summer of 1235, Richard appears to have been absent from court, in the sense that no record of his presence is shown via the royal charter witness lists. His recorded appearances are less frequent for the remainder of the year; he was present on 19 August at Westminster, at Nottingham on 5 September and finally, at Woodstock on 2 November.⁷ At which of his estates Richard spent the remainder of the winter of 1235 is unclear. In November, however, Richard's son Henry was born and, according to the Tewkesbury annalist, baptised at Hailes

¹ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, p. 140.

² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁶ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 96.

⁷ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, pp. 150-3. (Westminster p. 150, Nottingham p. 151 and Woodstock p. 153).

by the bishop of Hereford.⁸ This serves to demonstrate the importance which Richard placed in Hailes as a religious house and was indicative of his long association with the area; Richard founded the abbey of Hailes in c.1246.⁹ Presuming that the Tewkesbury annalist was correct, it would be safe to argue that Richard was in Gloucestershire in the final months of 1235. The significance of the birth of a male heir would perhaps explain his resultant absence from court for the next two months; he was once again present at Merton on 24 January 1236.¹⁰ The birth of a male heir does not appear to have influenced Richard's relationship with Henry, who was still childless in 1235, in any undue fashion. Richard continued to receive awards and was often in council to Henry during this period. Richard had also been integral in negotiations in the same year for the marriage of his sister, Isabella, to Frederick II of Germany.¹¹

During 1235, Richard's frequent visits to court were often accompanied by grants and favours from his brother, the king. The grant of the wardship of the Briouze heirs and custody of their lands, which included extensive land and castles in Wales, was made on 25 January.¹² Richard subsequently sold the wardship to Gilbert Marshal for 3000 marks on 10 February.¹³ The award of the honour of Knaresborough was recorded on 31 January at Rochester.¹⁴ Knaresborough was a royal castle which occupied a significant strategic position overlooking the River Nidd in Yorkshire.¹⁵ Richard was also granted the right to protect the Jews at Berkhamsted, the award dated in the Close Rolls as 7 February.¹⁶ This provided Richard with unparalleled access to the Jewish money chests.¹⁷ Richard's relationship with the Jews would continue throughout the remainder of his life. The manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire was awarded to Richard on 13 February;¹⁸ although there is no evidence to indicate Richard's presence at court for this

⁸ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 98.

⁹ *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, p. 337.

¹⁰ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, p. 154.

¹¹ *Foedera*, i, pp. 223-4.

¹² *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 89.

¹³ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 192.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

¹⁵ M.J. Kershaw, Article reproduced from *Knaresborough Castle Guidebook* (1998)

<http://www.knaresborough.co.uk/castle/#history> [accessed 1st June 2013]

¹⁶ *Close Rolls 1234-1237*, p. 46. 'Pro comite Ricardo, quod Judie maneat apud Berchamsted... Teste Rege apud Dovor', vii. die Februarii.'

¹⁷ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁸ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 193.

particular grant, as has been previously discussed, he can be documented as present on either side of the date of the award. Richard's presence at court and the number of awards granted to him is significant, as it clearly demonstrates the favour shown to Richard by Henry.

Richard would have been present for Henry's wedding to Eleanor of Provence in January and no doubt, the celebrations that followed in February in London.¹⁹ Despite not being named specifically within Paris' long description of the coronation and celebrations, it would have been highly unlikely that Richard would not have been in attendance at such an important occasion.²⁰ It is around this time that Emperor Frederick II of Germany wrote to Henry, requesting Richard's assistance in his endeavours against the French.²¹ Frederick II was the Holy Roman Emperor and had recently married Henry and Richard's sister, Isabella, in the previous year.²² This contact between Frederick II and Richard is particularly important because it serves to indicate the strength of Richard's political influence and reputation within the wider international community.

Richard was now comfortably the richest noble in England, with near total dominance and control over the county of Cornwall. No doubt the Emperor had received high praise of Richard, not least from his new bride but also from his own men, who had dealt with Richard the year before in arranging the marriage.²³ Whether Richard desired or intended to go is a moot point, however, as Matthew Paris records it, the request was refused by the assembled barons due to, among other reasons, Richard's position as heir to the throne.²⁴ Henry wrote to Frederick on 2 February proffering several of these reasons for the barons' need for Richard to remain in the country, including that the negotiated truce with the Welsh was about to expire and Henry had a forthcoming conference with the king of

¹⁹ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 99.

²⁰ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 335-339.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

²² L. Wilkinson, 'The imperial marriage of Isabella of England, Henry III's sister', *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship* (ed.) L. Oakley-Brown and L. Wilkinson (Chippenham: Four Courts Press 2009), pp. 20-36.

²³ L. Wilkinson, 'The imperial marriage of Isabella of England', pp. 20-36; B. Wild, 'The Empress's New Clothes: A *Rotulus Pannorum* of Isabella, sister of King Henry III, Bride of Emperor Frederick II' *Medieval Clothing and Textiles VII* (ed.) G. Owen-Crocker and R. Netherton (Woodbridge: Boydell 2011).

²⁴ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 340

Scotland.²⁵ Although at the beginning of the year it would seem Richard had no plans to travel abroad, by the summer, according to Paris, Richard intended to go on crusade²⁶ and had, along with a number of other nobles, taken the cross in June 1236.²⁷ Despite the fact that Richard most certainly planned a pilgrimage to crusade, the Jews were to provide him with an additional 3000 marks to aid him,²⁸ in the event he did not make the journey until 1240.²⁹ It has been suggested by Denholm-Young, that one reason for Richard's desire to go on crusade, may have been due to dissatisfaction with the burgeoning new regime at court.³⁰ The timing of Richard's original vow to set out on crusade, however, when taken in relation to the context of the changed political makeup and his own personal position at this juncture, seems to place this suggestion as weak at best.

Following the removal of Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches, accompanied by the changed make-up of the English earls, to a much younger and more relative age base to that of Henry, it should not be surprising that the political dynamics shifted at court after 1236. Henry and Richard, Simon de Montfort, the earls of Norfolk, Oxford, Winchester, Warwick and Arundel were all under thirty, while the earls of Gloucester and Devon were still not of age.³¹ Henry's new queen, Eleanor of Provence, had arrived in the country in January 1236 accompanied by her uncle, William of Savoy;³² within very short order Henry had appointed him as head of his council.³³ This move by Henry appears to have been unpopular with

²⁵ *Royal and other Historical Letters*, Vol. 2, pp. 8-9; N. Chrissis, 'A Diversion that never was: Thibaut IV of Champagne, Richard of Cornwall and Pope Gregory IX's Crusading Plans for Constantinople, 1235-1239', *Crusades*, Vol. 9 (2010), p. 140.

²⁶ Denholm-Young reiterates the claim by Matthew Paris that Richard ordered his woods cut down and sold to help pay for his crusade, although notes that Paris does not state when or where. The only reference to the cutting of wood relevant to the timeframe is to be found in the Close Rolls in 1236, where Richard was given a gift of twenty oaks in the Forest of Dean. However, this was noted as being for repairs to his house in Thornbury following a fire and not to finance payments; '*Mandatum est constabulario de Sancto Briavello quod habere faciat R.comiti Pictavie et Cornubie, xx. quercus in foresta de Den' ad domos suas de Thornbir' que combuste fuerunt reparandas*'. Whether Paris' claim would have been corroborated by any other documents which have not survived is unclear. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 34; *Close Rolls 1234-1237*, p. 262.

²⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 368.

²⁸ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 178; *Close Rolls 1234-1237*, p. 410.

²⁹ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 115; *Annals of Winchester*, AM ii, p. 88; *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, p. 325; *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, pp. 151-2; *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, pp. 86-7; *Annals of Worcester*, AM iv, p. 431; *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 11.

³⁰ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 33.

³¹ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, pp. 462-3.

³² M, Howell. *Eleanor of Provence* (Oxford: Blackwell 1998), pp. 1, 14-15.

³³ Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 474.

some of the baronage, who may have felt excluded from the inner reaches of the royal court. Whilst the barons complained to the papal legate Otho, both the archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund and Richard, are alleged to have rebuked the king for his reliance on foreign aliens.³⁴ It is unlikely that Richard, as the king's brother, would have felt himself excluded from the inner circle at court but was most certainly sympathetic to those barons who did. Richard may, however, have felt that any position of influence he held was being threatened. There appears to be no other reference to this within the other chronicles,³⁵ any dissatisfaction is only recorded by Paris, though this does therefore present the distinct possibility of a grain of truth to the argument, due to Paris' potential source of information on the matter. It is worth noting, that Richard's presence on royal charter witness lists during 1236 is particularly low in number, when taken in comparison with the previous year. One should proceed with caution, however, and avoid reading too much into this line of enquiry as evidence of a particular resultant exclusion from court on Richard's part during this period. The swiftness with which Henry appeared to have fallen into the pattern of turning to another older figure for guidance, this time in the shape of William of Savoy, could be argued as hauntingly familiar, given the previous years of his reign. Whether this, in and of itself, would have been enough to cause tensions between the two brothers, is unlikely. In the event, there appears to be little to corroborate such an argument. There were on-going issues, however, particularly of a financial nature, which would provide additional pressure upon Henry and contribute toward political problems within very short order.

Henry was under considerable financial pressure at the end of 1236, not least as a result of the remaining funds of his sister's dowry which needed to be paid to Emperor Frederick. In January 1237 at Westminster, he asked for a tax of a thirtieth on movables, in order that his costs might be covered. There was immediate opposition and, according to Matthew Paris, the council was particularly

³⁴ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 395, 411.

³⁵ There is a mention of Richard and the barons' concerns regarding Henry's reliance on 'foreigners' with reference to the rebellion in 1237 in the *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 106. Stacey, however, argues that the mention of 'foreigners' may have been a later addition, after the fact. R. Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance*, pp. 119-120.

fractious.³⁶ In the end, through some strenuous negotiation, the tax was secured but with conditions attached. Magna Carta was reaffirmed and the funds were to be listed as distinctly separate from other crown revenues managed in the exchequer and a number of other nobles were added to the king's council, including William de Warenne, earl of Surrey and William de Ferrers, earl of Derby.³⁷ So contentious was the tax that by November 1237, Henry had issued a further statement that he would secure the funds safely on the advice of the papal legate and 'dispose of nothing thereof without his counsel'.³⁸ According to Matthew Paris, Richard had rebuked his brother for his dependence on his unpopular alien counsellors.³⁹ It does not appear, however, that there were major breaks between Henry and Richard at this stage. The negotiations on the Welsh treaty due to take place in June were delayed, due to Henry being unable to secure the presence of Richard, William of Savoy and Simon de Montfort. Henry clearly did not feel able to negotiate without their advice.⁴⁰ Richard was present again, with the whole council summoned to York in September, where a major treaty with Scotland was agreed.⁴¹ On 26 October 1237, Richard was once more instrumental to Henry, this time relating to the marriage of Richard de Clare granted to the earl of Lincoln '...with the counsel of Earl Richard and others'.⁴² Richard was still closely involved with the council at Westminster on 5 December, when, in conjunction with Walter the archbishop of York, John de Lacy, the earl of Lincoln and Simon de Montfort, a payment of 1000 marks was made out of the wardrobe 'for the expedition of the king's affairs' in their presence.⁴³ The simmering tensions, however, ignited in January 1238 with the marriage of the king's sister Eleanor, to Simon de Montfort.⁴⁴

Unlike the marriage of Richard de Clare, undertaken with the express consent of Richard of Cornwall and the assembled councillors, the marriage of Eleanor and Simon was performed without the consent of the baronage. Richard's

³⁶ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 381-2; Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance*, p. 112.

³⁷ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, pp. 102-3; *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, pp. 225-6; *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 383.

³⁸ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 205.

³⁹ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 411-2.

⁴⁰ *Close Rolls 1234-1247*, pp. 536-7.

⁴¹ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 203; *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 413.

⁴² *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 199.

⁴³ *Liberate Rolls*, p. 299.

⁴⁴ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 106; *Annals of Waverly*, AM ii, p. 318.

anger, in particular, was extensive, and within days of the wedding, in conjunction with Gilbert Marshal the earl of Pembroke and the earl of Winchester, he was once more in armed rebellion against the king.⁴⁵ On 3 February, Henry issued orders to the barons of the Cinque Ports not to follow any commands given by Richard.⁴⁶ Paris relates that Henry first tried to bargain with the nobles individually and that after the papal legate had also tried in vain to reason with Richard, both he and the bishop of Winchester advised Henry to yield.⁴⁷ According to Paris, Henry agreed to submit to their demands,⁴⁸ only for Richard to make peace with de Montfort and abandon the cause, in the process damaging his own reputation.⁴⁹ Paris mentions secret bribes as a possible reason for Richard's change of position and it is distinctly conceivable that an agreement was reached whereby Richard would receive a sum of money for his own use. Indeed, a sum of 6000 marks from the thirtieth was made available by Henry to Richard several months later on 28 May 1238, ostensibly 'to further his affairs beyond the sea'.⁵⁰ Whether this took the form of a payment to encourage Richard's cooperation is hard to establish with any merit of fact, although no other payments appear to have been recorded to Richard in the Liberate Rolls between January and May 1238, in any official capacity.

Following the end of the rebellion, Richard concentrated on plans for his crusade, only to receive a letter from his brother-in-law, Emperor Frederick II, imploring him to delay his start until the end of 1239.⁵¹ Frederick had established a

⁴⁵ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 475-6; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 106; Wilkinson, *Eleanor de Montfort*, p. 66.

⁴⁶ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 209; *Royal and other Historical Letters*, Vol.2, p. 15.

⁴⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 475-9.

⁴⁸ Denholm-Young provides a date of 22 February for Henry's capitulation, however, the date does not appear to be mentioned by Paris and no other record of acquiescence can be located. No documents are inserted by Paris, which, in agreement with Denholm-Young, does seem strange, bearing in mind Paris' unusual and well established connection to both Richard and Henry. He further asserts that should a copy exist it is likely that Paris would have obtained one, and Paris' copy of the Paper Constitution is therefore the only such copy. Denholm-Young suggests that the Provisions inserted into Paris' work in 1244, are in fact those of 1238. However, there are no notes or citations on the so called 'Paper Constitution' to corroborate this other than Denholm-Young's own work on the matter – see N. Denholm-Young, 'The Paper Constitution attributed to 1244', *The English Historical Review*, Vol.58, No. 232 (Oct 1943) pp. 401-423; C.R. Cheney, 'The Paper Constitution Preserved by Matthew Paris', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 65, No. 255 (April 1950), pp. 213-221.

⁴⁹ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 479 '...in magna parte denigravit; et sic factus est deinceps suspectus, qui credebatur baculus fortitudinis'

⁵⁰ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 222.

⁵¹ *Chronica Majora*, iii, pp. 471-2; Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufen Empire*, p. 102.

ten year truce with the Sultan of Egypt in 1229,⁵² and as such, was concerned that the terms of the agreement were honoured. He wrote to ask that Richard delay his departure until after the truce had expired, and when he did set out, to travel via Sicily, so they could meet in person. The letter is recorded in Paris, apparently verbatim, and appears to be the only historical record of the letter. It is safe to assume that, for Paris to have seen a copy or have been apprised of its contents, it would have been from Richard himself that the information was provided.⁵³ Pope Gregory IX was equally anxious for Richard to delay his departure on crusade, at least until after the truce had expired. Gregory had called for preparations to be made for a crusade as early as 1234, however, Frederick's cooperation was required to facilitate transportation through his lands; something Frederick was unprepared to offer if it led to crusading armies arriving before the truce expired.⁵⁴ Pope Gregory wrote to Henry in 1238, to urge that Richard's crusade be delayed for the reason of security within England; Richard was still heir to the throne at this stage.⁵⁵ Richard was also granted a thirtieth of the funds from the redemption of crusading vows and, in May 1238, 6000 marks were dispatched for his use via the Master of the Knights Templars.⁵⁶

Richard duly delayed his departure, although his movements for the remainder of 1238 are difficult to trace in any great detail. On 4 and 13 March he was recorded as present at Westminster,⁵⁷ whilst he is documented at Wallingford on 25 April via the royal charter witness lists. Any other records which might relate to Richard are either lost or illegible for the purposes of dates and locations.⁵⁸ In

⁵² B. Weiler, 'Gregory IX, Frederick II, and the Liberation of the Holy Land, 1230-9', in *Studies in Church History* 36 (Boydell Press 2000), pp. 192-206; S. Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239-41', in *A History of the Crusades: Vol. 2, The Later Crusades 1189-1311*, (ed.) K.M. Setton, R.L. Wolff, H.W. Hazard (Madison Milwaukee and London: University of Wisconsin Press 1969), p. 464.

⁵³ Paris records a number of personal letters to Richard from Frederick II, as well as Pope Gregory IX. Although the letters from Frederick appear to be the sole surviving documentary evidence, those written by Gregory IX, which Paris chooses to include, can at least be cross referenced with 'Les Registres de Gregoire IX' (ed.) L. Auvray, *Librairie des Ecoles Francais D'Athenes et de Rome*, 4 Vols. (Paris 1907); *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 442, p. 471, pp. 474-5, p. 612; *Chronica Majora*, v, pp. 165-9. It is known that Richard visited St. Alban's on a regular basis and Paris himself even records one such visit on Richard's journey to the crusade in 1240; *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 43-44. The argument that such copies were provided to Paris by Richard himself can therefore be concluded to be a safe one.

⁵⁴ S. Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239-41', p. 467.

⁵⁵ 'Les Registres de Gregoire IX', (ed.) L. Auvray, Vol. 2, pp. 973-5.

⁵⁶ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 222; See above p. 51, n. 50.

⁵⁷ *Royal Charter Witness Lists* Vol. 1, p. 166.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 166-7.

June 1238, he can be traced to Cornwall, where he was involved in the resolution of a dispute between Richard de Grenville and the monks of Tewkesbury.⁵⁹ The *Annals of Winchester* appear to record incorrectly that Richard travelled to the Holy Land in July 1238.⁶⁰ The birth of Henry's son, Edward, in 1239,⁶¹ undoubtedly served to ease much of any existing tensions or concerns were Henry to die whilst Richard was absent from the kingdom. As a result, there was little to prevent Richard from undertaking his crusade. Richard met with a number of other nobles at Northampton, in November 1239 and swore an oath to set out on crusade in the forthcoming year. According to Paris, the nobles who also took the oath included Richard's brother-in-law, Gilbert Marshal, Richard Siward and Henry de Trubevill.⁶² Finally, he is noted as spending Christmas 1239 at Winchester with Henry, where Richard's ward Baldwin de Redvers was knighted and confirmed as the earl of Devon.⁶³

In January 1240, Richard's wife Isabella died and Richard returned from Cornwall to bury her at Beaulieu, despite her wishes to be interred at Tewkesbury near her first husband, the earl of Gloucester.⁶⁴ On his way toward Dover, Richard stopped to pray in St. Albans,⁶⁵ providing an ample opportunity for him to have met with Matthew Paris. Certainly, Paris' description of events implies first-hand knowledge. Richard travelled to Dover, leaving his son in the care of his brother, Henry and left for the Holy Land in June 1240.⁶⁶ Paris informs us that Richard departed in the company of the earl of Salisbury, William Longespee, and Brother Theodric, a prior of the Order of the Hospitallers. In addition, he travelled with a number of knights, including Philip Basset, John de Beauchamp, Geoffrey de Lucy, John de Neville, Geoffrey de Beauchamp, William de Furnivall and Peter de Brus.⁶⁷ Richard travelled first to France, where he was received by King Louis IX and his wife Blanche of Castile, Richard's cousin, with a degree of pomp and circumstance.

⁵⁹ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, pp. 107-8.

⁶⁰ *Annals of Winchester*, AM ii, p. 88.

⁶¹ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 112; *Annals of Burton*, AM i, p. 257; *Annals of Winchester*, AM ii, p. 88; *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, p. 321; *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 149; *Annals of Bermondsey*, AM iii, p. 459; *Annals of Worcester*, AM iv, p. 430.

⁶² *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 620.

⁶³ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 1.

⁶⁴ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, pp. 113-4; *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 2.

⁶⁵ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 43.

⁶⁶ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, pp. 151-2.

⁶⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 44.

Louis also provided him with additional goods and services and his own Marshal, as a personal guide through Southern France. Despite the invitation from Frederick to travel via Sicily, Richard departed to Acre from Marseilles in September.⁶⁸

When Richard arrived in Acre, the situation in the Holy Land was precarious. Theobald, count of Champagne and king of Navarre had begun negotiations with the sultan of Egypt but had departed for home several weeks prior to Richard's arrival, taking a significant proportion of the crusading forces with him, apparently before truce negotiations had been formally concluded.⁶⁹ There was significant disagreement between the Templars and the Hospitallers about the appropriate way forward. The Templars favoured an agreement with the sultan of Damascus and were camped at Jaffa, whereas the Hospitallers, who preferred a truce with the sultan of Egypt, had stationed themselves at Acre.⁷⁰ Richard conferred with Hugh, the duke of Burgundy, Walter of Brienne and the master of the Order of Hospitallers and then proceeded to initiate the negotiation of terms with Egypt. Richard had to wait several months before the truce was formalised and chose to spend his time assisting Hugh of Burgundy in the refortification of the castle at Ascalon.⁷¹ Word of an agreement to the truce terms from the sultan finally reached Richard at Ascalon in February 1241. In April 1241, Christian prisoners captured in the earlier, disastrous, confrontation at Gaza, were exchanged and the truce was formalised.⁷² Richard apparently won praise amongst the French nobility for also undertaking to bury the remains of those who were slain in the battle.⁷³ Once matters were complete to his satisfaction, Richard left Acre in May 1241.⁷⁴ The details of Richard's time on crusade are described in a personal letter written by Richard to Baldwin de Redvers, the earl of Devon and the abbot of Beaulieu, which was transcribed by Matthew Paris.⁷⁵ The successful truce and release of prisoners, combined with the refortification of the castle at Ascalon, provided Richard with a

⁶⁸ *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 45-7.

⁶⁹ S. Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall', p. 483; P. Jackson, 'The Crusades of 1239-1241 and Their Aftermath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1987), pp. 32-60.

⁷⁰ Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall', p. 483.

⁷¹ *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, p. 87.

⁷² *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 118; *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, p. 87; *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, p. 328.

⁷³ Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall', p. 484.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, p. 87.

⁷⁵ *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 138-145.

cause for celebration and a modicum of personal renown.⁷⁶ Richard would have been keen to express his good fortune and the letter is perhaps prone to self-inflation as a result.⁷⁷ Richard's personal success in his crusade is difficult to measure. Although much of the groundwork for the truce had been undertaken by Theobald, his early exit from proceedings, which Richard wrote of scathingly, allowed Richard the opportunity to cement his own personal position politically. Had Richard instead sought to treaty with Damascus, as championed by the Templars, the outcome may not have proved as beneficial. Richard's success in securing stability in the region through political dialogue and, perhaps sound advice, should therefore not be classed as insignificant.

Richard arrived in Trapani in July 1241 whereupon he travelled to the court of his brother-in-law, Frederick II. We are graced with a rather grand tale of Richard's time there by Paris. Richard was greeted in towns by singing crowds bearing flowers and branches. On meeting the emperor, he was offered hot baths, bloodletting and other restoratives, before being entertained by Saracen dancing girls.⁷⁸ During his stay at the imperial court, Richard attempted to cement mediation between the emperor and pope Gregory IX. He travelled to Rome with sealed letters from Frederick agreeing to abide by any peace terms reached by Richard.⁷⁹ According to Paris, however, Richard's attempt was doomed to failure. Richard arrived in Rome to apparent insults and contempt and having found the pope irreconcilable was unable to secure any changes. He returned to the imperial court where he remained for several months before travelling home through Italy.⁸⁰ Whether Richard was successful or not at the papal curia, is perhaps less the critical point here. Richard needed to maintain a good relationship with Frederick II. As the Emperor of Germany, his marriage to Richard's sister, Isabella, was designed to further establish important political ties. Imperial connections were important to Richard in maintaining his personal and political reputation. Therefore, it is quite likely that Richard would have made a serious attempt to affect a change at the

⁷⁶ *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, p. 87; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 118; *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 143.

⁷⁷ S. Painter, 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall', pp. 483-5; *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 138-144; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 42-3; Jackson, 'The Crusades of 1239-42', p. 45.

⁷⁸ *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 145-6.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 120.

⁸⁰ *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 147-8; *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 120.

papal curia, in spite of any significant chance of success, in order to further secure ties with his imperial brother-in-law.

Richard arrived back in England in January 1242, where, according to Paris, he was greeted by the king and queen, eventually arriving in London, which was decorated in his honour, at the end of January.⁸¹ Richard was given no rest upon his arrival, becoming embroiled in Henry's latest scheme to head to Gascony and invade Poitou. Louis IX had awarded Poitou to his younger brother Alphonse, as dictated by his father Louis VIII's will, in 1241.⁸² This would no doubt have caused some concern to Richard, having been named count of Poitou by Henry in 1225.⁸³ The initial resentments to this action came, not from Richard, but from Hugh de Lusignan, Richard's mother Isabella of Angouleme's second husband, who refused to pay homage to Alphonse and raised arms against him.⁸⁴ Alphonse complained to Louis IX who, in turn, sent his forces to subdue the resistance. Hugh sought help from Henry III and persuaded him to pursue action against the French and, in the process, regain lost lands; Henry need only bring money, not soldiers.⁸⁵ In order to pursue the scheme, Henry needed funds, and so he called a council at Westminster in January 1242.⁸⁶ The nobles were disinclined to acquiesce to Henry's calls for yet more funds, advising him to wait until the truce expired or was broken first by Louis IX.⁸⁷ Whether Richard was initially in favour or not of Henry's plan, an award of more manors,⁸⁸ and an agreement from Henry that he would not breach the truce with Louis without 'just cause', and that if he did, Richard could return to England 'without his indignation',⁸⁹ saw Richard agree to sail. The fleet eventually set sail for France in May; there were purportedly seven earls in addition to Richard,⁹⁰ approximately three hundred knights and thirty barrels of money in the expedition. Arriving at Rouen, they camped at Pons for several weeks before moving to

⁸¹ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 180.

⁸² E. Hallam and J. Everard, *Capetian France, 987-1328* (Longman 2001), p. 330; *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 157.

⁸³ *Royal and other Historical Letters*, Vol. 1, p. 262; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 44.

⁸⁴ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 178-9.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179; Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance*, pp. 184-5.

⁸⁶ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 181.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

⁸⁸ *Close Rolls 1237-1242*, p. 404.

⁸⁹ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 274.

⁹⁰ Denholm-Young incorrectly cites the number of earls as six; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 46. Paris wrote '...cum septem aliis comitibus...' *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 192.

Saintes.⁹¹ It was at this point that Henry miscalculated the position of his forces and allowed Louis to move and secure Taillebourg, a position just north of Henry's camp at Saintes, with a superior force and cutting off the English knights.⁹² Paris recounts an apparent exchange between Henry, Richard and Hugh de Lusignan, in which Hugh denied involvement and blamed his wife, Isabella, Henry and Richard's mother. Upon hearing this, Richard is claimed to have downed his armour and crossed the bridge to parlay with the French.⁹³ Richard's apparent continuing popularity amongst the French nobility following his actions during the crusade, allowed Richard to secure a twenty-four hour truce.⁹⁴ The English force retreated to Saintes, where after a brief skirmish; they fell back further toward Bordeaux.⁹⁵ The campaign was over. Louis fell ill and returned home, however, Henry remained in France until September; his wife Eleanor having delivered a daughter in Bordeaux.⁹⁶ A five year truce was eventually agreed in 1243.⁹⁷ Henry's continental ambitions had been thwarted. Had it not been for Richard's diplomatic ability to secure a temporary truce with the French army, however, the situation could have been vastly different. The significance of Richard's involvement and achievement should therefore not be dismissed lightly. It is entirely plausible that, had Richard not been able to obtain the truce, the outmatched English would have suffered an even more ignominious defeat which, as a result, may have permanently altered the course of events between England and France. Richard returned to England and concentrated on plans for his second marriage; albeit narrowly avoiding a shipwreck en route, for which he pledged to build an abbey.⁹⁸

His bride Sanchia, daughter of Raymond Berengar V of Provence and sister to Henry III's wife Eleanor, did not arrive in England until late 1243. This was principally due to the strained relations between England and France. Earlier, in January, letters were sent to Raymond asking him not to send his daughter under the safe conduct of the king of France, as the truce had not as yet been

⁹¹ *Chronic Majora*, iv, p. 192.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁹⁴ Stacey, *Politics, Policy and Finance*, p. 195.

⁹⁵ *Chronic Majora*, iv, pp. 212-223.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

established.⁹⁹ Sanchia eventually arrived in November, accompanied by her mother, and the marriage was held at Westminster on the 23 November 1243.¹⁰⁰ The marriage was of critical political importance to Richard's brother, Henry and, in particular, his wife Eleanor. Margaret Howell has successfully argued that Eleanor's ambitions for her son Edward were threatened by Richard's unmarried status and his own continuing territorial ambitions.¹⁰¹ To Henry, Richard's marriage would also help cement his existing ties with Provence and Savoy, supporting the attempts to increase his allies against the Capetian French and his plans to recover lost Angevin continental lands.¹⁰² Richard also became more favourable to his Savoyard relatives at court as a result of the marriage. He also provided several of them with financial assistance in the form of loans.¹⁰³ Henry gave Richard three thousand marks for the marriage and a further one thousand marks a year in cash or the equivalent in lands.¹⁰⁴ Richard provided Sanchia with a dower which consisted of a third of his lands, with Berkhamsted castle and manor as her main dwelling.¹⁰⁵ Matthew Paris wrote of the splendour and majesty of the occasion, stating that some thirty thousand dishes were prepared for the assembled guests.¹⁰⁶ The extravagance and wealth displayed here served to accentuate Richard's personal position and significance within the political landscape and the aristocracy of thirteenth century Europe.¹⁰⁷

Richard and Sanchia presumably retired to Wallingford after the celebrations, as Henry is known to have spent Christmas with them there. Matthew Paris reported that a sumptuous banquet was held with many of the English nobility invited.¹⁰⁸ On 25 December, Richard was granted the manors of Mere and Corsham in Wiltshire, Glatton in Cambridgeshire and Risborough in Buckinghamshire accompanied with the advowsons of the churches there, Fordington in Dorset and

⁹⁹ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 399.

¹⁰⁰ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 263; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 408.

¹⁰¹ Howell, *Eleanor of Provence*, p. 34.

¹⁰² Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 49.

¹⁰³ See above, pp. 14-15.

¹⁰⁴ *Liberate Rolls*, Vol.2, pp. 155, 230, 299; cf. Vol. 3, pp. 42, 84, 144, 171; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 437.

¹⁰⁵ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 414.

¹⁰⁶ '...in coquinali ministerio plura quam triginta milia ferculorum prandentibus parabantur', *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 263.

¹⁰⁷ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 263.

¹⁰⁸ *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 132; *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 283.

the royal manor of Newport in Essex, forming part of Sanchia's marriage portion.¹⁰⁹ Richard had amassed a considerable fortune by the end of 1243 and he would seek to increase this still further in the next few years.

From 1244 onwards Richard's political position and closeness to his brother can be demonstrated by Richard's regular presence at court. He was listed at Windsor in March, Westminster in May and St. Albans in June 1244.¹¹⁰ Henry's reliance on Richard's counsel and judgement is also evident, in particular, with Richard's involvement in the treaty negotiations with Alexander II of Scotland. In August 1244, with the archbishop of York, Richard represented Henry at the negotiations in Newcastle upon Tyne and provided his oath for the confirmation of the agreement.¹¹¹ More grants of land followed to Richard in October 1244, with the manors of Benson in Oxfordshire and Hailes in Gloucester.¹¹² The manor of Bradninch in Devon, accompanied with the advowson of the church and the knight's fees due to the manor were awarded to Richard in November 1244, to be added to Sanchia's marriage portion.¹¹³

Richard's wealth accumulation continued into 1245, when he was granted the right to hold an annual fair at Berkhamsted castle in March.¹¹⁴ In April, he was given the manor of Mere so that he might establish a religious house of his choosing.¹¹⁵ He was also providing substantial loans to his brother and others, as well as an additional aid of one thousand pounds to the Holy Land.¹¹⁶ In July, Henry ordered all the gold held at the New Temple to be weighed and 2000 marks worth be sent to Richard's clerk, in pawn for the money Richard had lent him for the Welsh campaign.¹¹⁷ Richard was also a regular presence at court, witnessing numerous charters between July and October 1245.¹¹⁸ The brothers again spent Christmas together, this time in London.¹¹⁹ No doubt they would have had time to discuss the on-going problem of papal exactions on England. One might presume

¹⁰⁹ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 276.

¹¹⁰ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 1, pp. 190-1.

¹¹¹ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 434.

¹¹² *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 280.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹¹⁴ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 281.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹¹⁶ *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 415-6.

¹¹⁷ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, pp. 456, 459.

¹¹⁸ *Royal Charter Witness Lists*, Vol. 2, pp. 6-8.

¹¹⁹ *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 503-4.

that the brothers' plans here coalesced, however, this does not appear to be the case, at least according to Paris. During 1244 and 1245, arguments had continued between the papal curia and the English court and by 1246 there appeared to be no satisfactory resolution. Following the parliament in March 1246, Henry and the assembled nobles had issued a letter of protest to the pope, with Richard listed as one of the nobles named as protesting.¹²⁰ However, at the following parliament, Richard is alleged to have been pro-papacy, in stark contrast to his earlier anti-papal stance and, as a result, in combination with several bishops, encouraged Henry to accept the pope's demands.¹²¹ Although Paris does not state explicit reasons for this, he does provide information which may suggest Richard was subject to strong persuasion in order to change his stance. Richard had been granted the redemption of crusading vows by the pope in 1238 and, in 1246, between the two parliaments discussed above, this right was re-issued.¹²² If bribery was the case, then Richard's influence upon Henry was clearly viewed as both substantial and profitable by others in Europe. Whether the re-issue of the right to the redemption of crusading vows was actually a bribe, is not possible to determine beyond the circumstantial, if not fortuitous, timing of events.

Richard had clearly demonstrated his brothers' reliance upon his judgement and advice and been able in the process to use that to accrue a strong personal financial position. This enabled him to make an incredibly ambitious and hugely profitable move; to take full control of the royal mint. In 1247, he provided the financial backing to enable a reform and recoinage and was, in turn, granted part of the profits, most importantly after his initial outlay had been recouped.¹²³ A more detailed breakdown of the profits Richard received from the mint, combined with an investigation of his financial position from landed wealth, follows in the next chapter. By the end of 1247 Richard had been able to use his strengthened position and hold over his brother to establish himself as the most powerful, influential and wealthiest of the English baronage. This was a position that would serve to assist Henry in his personal reign, as much as it would ultimately hamper Richard's own personal ambitions in the following decades.

¹²⁰ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 533; *Annals of Burton*, AM i, p. 283; *Foedera*, i, pp. 265-6.

¹²¹ *Chronica Majora*, iv, p. 561; *Foedera*, i, p. 266.

¹²² *Chronica Majora*, vi, pp. 117-8.

¹²³ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 505.

Chapter 4: Land, wealth and patronage

Richard's status and influence in 1247 was due, in large part, to his extensive landed wealth and a strong financial position which enabled him to pursue control of the royal mint. Although Richard's household records do not appear to survive for this period, a certain amount of information can be estimated, based upon the later running of the estates by Richard's son, Edmund. It is important to study the extent of Richard's lands, wealth and patronage as these were central to a demonstration of baronial power and influence in the thirteenth century. A magnate's political influence depended partially upon the size of his estates. They provided income, followers and influence in the localities which referred back toward the administrative centre.¹ If property was a measure of a noble's power, then Richard was demonstratively the most powerful noble in the realm after the crown.

By 1247 Richard had already amassed a vast array of land covering approximately sixteen different counties. 1227 brought him the earldom of Cornwall,² although only 'during pleasure'; in 1231 he received Cornwall and the stannaries in fee, in addition to Wallingford and the manor of Watlington.³ To this he added the lands of Isabella of Angouleme's dower, accompanied with the honours of St Valery (formerly of count Robert de Drewes) and Eye (formerly of the Duke of Louvain), during the king's pleasure; with a compensation clause to Richard of a 'reasonable exchange' should the lands be taken back into crown custody.⁴ The dower lands were considerable and included property in Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire, Devon, Wiltshire, Essex, Buckinghamshire, Rutland and Queenhithe in London and Somerset, Exeter and Kenton in Devon.⁵ Another four manorial honours were added to his collection before his marriage to Sanchia of Provence:

¹ J.R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997), pp.46-7; L. Wilkinson, 'The Rules of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth Century England', *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850 – c.1550, Managing Power, Wealth and the Body*, (eds.) C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols 2004), pp. 293-4.

² *Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 140.

³ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 129; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 166.

⁵ *Fine Rolls 1220-1221*, nos. 319-322.

the honour of Haughley in 1234;⁶ Knaresborough in 1235, for the small sum of two knights' fees;⁷ the manor of Kirton-in-Lindsey with the advowsons of the churches and apportioned services of knights and free men, again for the small sum of two knights' fees;⁸ while the manor of Lidford and the forest of Dartmoor were awarded in October 1239.⁹ Richard's marriage to Sanchia brought more land in the shape of the manors of Glatton in Huntingdon and Risborough in Buckinghamshire, Mere and Corsham in Wiltshire and Newport in Essex in 1243.¹⁰ Benson in Oxfordshire and the manor of Hailes in Gloucester were confirmed in his possession on October 17 1244,¹¹ while in the following month he added the manor of Bradninch in Devon.¹² Richard's annual income for this period has been estimated as between £5,000 to £6,000 per year.¹³ Nicholas Vincent asserts that Richard's son, Edmund, commanded an annual income of approximately £8,000 per year.¹⁴ In addition to his father's estates, Edmund later received the farm of the tin mine in Devon and accounted as sheriff for the counties of Rutland and Cornwall.¹⁵ Aside from a temporary lease of the town and lordship of Leicester, there appears to have been no significant increase in land during Edward's time as earl of Cornwall, to those which were held by his father.¹⁶ As a result, it is not unreasonable to revise Richard's estimated annual income upwards toward at least £6,000 to £7,000. In either case, this placed Richard as the wealthiest magnate in England after the crown, when compared with his contemporaries, by a significant margin. Richard de Clare, the earl of Gloucester's lands amounted to approximately £3,700 per year.¹⁷ The earls of Pembroke had an estimated income of £3,500 per year, with the Bigod earls of Norfolk receiving a similar figure.¹⁸ Simon de Montfort, the earl of Leicester was able to command a combined income of approximately £1,950 from his

⁶ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 385.

⁷ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 191.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹³ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 163.

¹⁴ N. Vincent, 'Edmund of Almain, second earl of Cornwall (1249-1300)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8505>, accessed 21 June 2013].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 55.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*; Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England*, p. 205.

estates.¹⁹ William de Ferrers, the earl of Derby's estates were valued at 2,000 marks. John de Brittany, the earl of Richmond, had an income of £1,200, whilst Robert de Quincy, the earl of Winchester, received a much smaller sum of £400 per year.²⁰

The true extent to which Richard's lands had accumulated by the time of his death is difficult to ascertain, due in the main, to the incomplete nature of the documents which have survived that record the inquisition *post mortem* in 1272.²¹ The surviving inquisition record only details information with regard to lands in five counties: Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire. Although obviously lacking in large quantities of detail toward the full extent of Richard's estates by this time, they do still provide us with some intriguing information. In Berkshire, Wallingford borough is recorded along with the advowsons of three churches, All Saints, St. Peter and St. Michael. The smaller manor of Harwell is also listed, held of the bishop of Winchester.²² In Buckinghamshire, we can see that, in addition to Risborough manor and its park held for the sum of one knights fee, Richard also held Cippenham manor with a park and the advowson of the chapel, held of the abbot of Westminster.²³ In the Oxfordshire estates listed, in addition to Benson, Watlington and Henley, we can see that Richard also had a manor in Yarnton, held of the bishop of Lincoln. Most interesting, however, is the description apportioned to the entry for Wallingford Castle. The castle, with the honour and two mills, was held of the king for three knights fees, however, one hundred and twenty and a half knights fees pertained to the said castle and honour.²⁴ This is a more than significant difference between the numbers of fees due from Richard for the property and the number he could expect due to himself.²⁵ In addition, the entry for Beckley, the main manor of the honour of St. Valery, details some of the tenants who held land from Richard; though we are not able to ascertain at which point, and therefore for how long, they may have

¹⁹ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 55.

²⁰ Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England*, p. 205; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, p. 55.

²¹ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. 1, Henry III* (London: H.M.S.O. 1904), pp. 273-5.

²² *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, p. 273.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 274. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 134, fn.3.

²⁴ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, p. 274.

²⁵ This supports my argument mentioned earlier in this thesis that Richard received an incredibly favourable deal for the small number of fees he was due to pay for Cornwall etc. See above, pp.32-3.

held the land during his lifetime. Coombe was held by Simon de St. Liz, Norton by William le Brun and Robert de Fretevelle, between them contributing 8 knights fees; whilst Horspath was held by the Templars at fee farm, rendering £9 each year.²⁶ Finally, we are also able to gather a little further information regarding the estate at Newport in Essex, which included two watermills and a fish pond. Although held of the king, the service appears unknown, the interesting entry, however, relates to the church. The dean of St. Martin le Grand in London has 'always the church to his own uses', although the advowson is listed as pertaining to the king.²⁷ Whether this agreement was through any particular patronage by Richard is, unfortunately, unclear at this stage.

Thanks in large part to earlier examination work conducted into the ministers' accounts for the earldom of Cornwall under Richard's son, Edmund, in 1286-1297 by L. M. Midgley,²⁸ we can estimate some of the possible administrative mechanisms which may have been used by Richard. As there do not appear to have been any additional significant grants of land awarded to the earldom during Edmund's time,²⁹ we can also utilise the accounts to reconstruct forensically the extent of Richard's wealth accumulation in terms of land. At the end of his life, the estates could be grouped into approximately five significant blocks of land. The most significant was in the south west, covering most of the county of Cornwall, combined with the Forest of Dartmoor and lands in Devon, the demesne of Mere within Wiltshire and assorted manors in Somerset, Devon and Wiltshire. The next grouping covered Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and into Middlesex, including the demesnes of Wallingford, Berkhamsted and St. Valery. Another section of lands grouped in the midlands included land in Northampton, Rutland, Huntingdon and Lincoln. In addition to this, there was an estate in Yorkshire, centred at Knaresborough, and the honour of Eye in East Anglia.³⁰ Administratively, by this time, the estates were organised into nine groups, each headed by a steward who presented their accounts. Whether or not this was how Richard chose

²⁶ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, p. 274.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ L.M. Midgley, *Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall 1296-1297*, 2 vols. (London: Royal Historical Society 1945).

²⁹ Vincent, 'Edmund of Almain, second earl of Cornwall (1249-1300)'; Midgley, *Ministers' Accounts*, Vol. 1, p. xviii.

³⁰ Midgley, *Ministers' Accounts*, Vol. 1, p. xviii.

to manage his estates in the years prior to this, however, is most difficult to ascertain due to the lack of substantial surviving records to corroborate or deny this.³¹

In either case, Richard's estates provided him with a substantial income, and accompanied by shrewd manoeuvres, such as taking control of the Jewry and moving their money chests to Berkhamsted,³² meant that, in 1247, Richard was able to pay a sum of ten thousand marks to take control of the royal mint.³³ The fact that Richard was able to raise such a sum in the first place, is not necessarily the most significant point here. The fact that he was able to garner such a sum and still loan money to others in the years before this, demonstrates that he was in control of a substantial income by this point. In 1240, he was repaid £100 he had lent to the king for work on the Tower of London.³⁴ In 1242 the Liberate Rolls record a payment of £200 to Richard for money borrowed from him in Gascony.³⁵ During the course of two months in 1244, Richard lent his brother a further 1500 marks; 1000 marks lent to the wardrobe on Feb 8,³⁶ 500 marks on 19 March lent to his brother as a prest.³⁷ The Liberate Rolls also list a payment of £500 on 29 April at Windsor for 'the king's debt to him'.³⁸ Whether this is meant as repayment for the part of the debt lent on 19 March or is, in fact, a completely separate amount of money is difficult to be certain. Though the amounts are the same, one is registered in pounds, the other in marks and neither seems to total to the original amount.³⁹ Before the end of 1244, Richard had once again lent a significant sum, this time to Boniface, archbishop-elect of Canterbury, to the tune of 1000 marks.⁴⁰ In July 1245,

³¹ Denholm-Young argues that the lack of orders being issued to stewards contained in the surviving accounts (covering 1269/70, 1270/71) indicates that it was unlikely, at least toward the end of Richard's administration, that they were far less centralised than they would become under Edmund. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 162-3. Without further evidence, however, we are unable to establish this as fact.

³² *Close Rolls 1234-1237*, p. 46.

³³ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 505.

³⁴ *Liberate Rolls 1226-1240*, p. 472.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

³⁶ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 419; *Liberate Rolls 1240-1245*, p. 238.

³⁷ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 421.

³⁸ *Liberate Rolls 1240-1245*, p. 298.

³⁹ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 157. Denholm-Young includes the above reference when discussing a payment to Richard as a probable repayment of the king's debt, however, the original amount loaned in this case was 1000 marks, 500 of which had already been paid back. An additional 500 pounds were also paid to Richard the following April (1245). It is therefore unclear as to how Denholm-Young made his calculations.

⁴⁰ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 446.

Richard was given gold from the king's stock at the New Temple in the form of bezants, bars and spangles as pawn for a 2000 mark sum lent to the king.⁴¹ In 1246 a grant was issued to Peter of Savoy that, upon his death, the issue from his estates should be given to Richard until his debt was cleared, excluding 100 marks a year, to go toward the 1000 marks that he owed to the king.⁴² Although the amount Peter owed to Richard is not disclosed, one presumes from the agreement reached that it was, at the least, substantial. In the seven years prior to financing the re-coinage and taking control of the mint,⁴³ Richard had already lent well over 5000 marks and £300. Whether these funds came from the rents and other payments from the earldom, including the tin mines, or his access to the Jewry chests, is once again, lost to the annals of history. Both, however, seem to be plausible possibilities, if not most probably, a combination of the two.

On 18 June 1247, Richard was granted full control of the running of the mint for five years.⁴⁴ Henry agreed to honour all '...compacts, rules or covenants' which Richard thought fit, in reference to the running of the mint. Richard, in turn, also contracted to create new coinage. This agreement was expanded a month later on 27 July, to include England, Wales and Ireland and extended to seven years and then again to twelve years.⁴⁵ The two grants relating to the duration are marked as the same date, with the second, listing twelve years, noted as an alteration to the first.⁴⁶ Whether the first grant extending the running to seven years, was therefore initially recorded in error or amended due to a subsequent discussion between the two brothers later on the same day, is unknown. Richard was to be repaid one mark of new money for each mark of his initial outlay in the setting up of the mint prior to the calculation of any profits; Richard loaned ten thousand marks. After this initial payment had been recouped, Richard would receive a fifty percent share of the profits from the mint.⁴⁷ An assessment of the new coins was made early in 1248 in the presence of Richard, the treasurer and barons of the exchequer and

⁴¹ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 456. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 157. Denholm-Young incorrectly cites this as 3000 marks.

⁴² *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 479.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Cassidy, 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints', pp. 137-156

⁴⁵ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, pp. 505, 511.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Cassidy, 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints', p. 138; M. Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012), p. 189.

confirmed by the oath of the mayor of London and twenty four 'lawful men of the city'.⁴⁸ It was decided that the rate of exchange from old money to new would be sixteen pence to each pound of old money. Six pence of which would be taken as farm payment to the king and Richard, while ten pence would be given to the moneyers to cover costs.⁴⁹ The officers of the mints in Norwich, Exeter, Northampton, Winchester and Lincoln were called to the Exchequer to be provided with instructions and materials to set up for the new coinage.⁵⁰ William Hardel, the warden of the mint in London, was then sent to inspect the mints with William de Haverhull and Edmund of Westminster, two of the king's clerks, to ensure that everything was to the required standard set out by Richard.⁵¹ The first division of profits recorded in the Pipe Rolls in 1252 indicate that Richard received a sum of approximately £5,000.⁵² In 1255, Richard received an additional £2,340 and in 1257 a payment of £1,821.⁵³ Richard's profits were further increased by his entitlement to fifty percent of the fines for failing to adhere to the new money regulations.⁵⁴ A special examination of the mints and money exchanges was ordered in April and May 1251. This covered London, Middlesex, Hertford, Essex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Lincoln, York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Leicester, Westmoreland, Lancaster, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Buckingham, Bedford, Oxford, Northampton, Rutland, Wiltshire, Southampton, Gloucester, Nottingham, Leicester, Warwick, Derby and the Cinque Ports.⁵⁵ It is safe to assume that there were significantly large numbers of fines issued, due to the fact that Matthew Paris chose to complain that Richard had amassed thousands of marks at the expense of the

⁴⁸ *Patent Rolls 1247-1258*, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*; Cassidy, 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints', p. 139; Allen, *Mints and Money*, pp. 171-2.

⁵⁰ *Close Rolls 1247-1251*, p. 107.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵² Denholm-Young cites a figure of £5,513 for the 1252 division of profits, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. ix; Martin Allen, however, provides a sum of approximately £4,910 for the first division of profits in 1252 and total profits for Richard's half share over the twelve years as approximately £13,000. Allen, *Mints and Money*, pp. 189-90. Denholm-Young estimated a profit of approximately £11,000 over the twelve year period plus the profits of Richard's original loan, Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 62; *Exchequer Pipe Rolls*, TNA: PRO E372/95, rot.6; Cassidy, 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints', pp. 140-1, shows the initial payment in 1252 to Richard as £4,911 with £603 carried forward to the next account.

⁵³ *Exchequer Pipe Rolls*, TNA: PRO E372/95, rot.6, E372/98, rot.6, E372/100, rot.19d; Cassidy, 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints', p. 141; Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. ix.

⁵⁴ *Close Rolls 1251-1253*, p. 482.

⁵⁵ *Patent Rolls 1247-1258*, pp. 114-5; Cassidy, 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints', pp. 149-50.

general populace.⁵⁶ Cassidy provides a figure of over £1,000 a year in exchange amercements being collected from the counties between 1252 and 1258.⁵⁷ In addition to these payments, Richard was also able to obtain large sums of money from the lucrative tin mines of Devon and Cornwall.

Very few accounts for the Cornish tin mines survive for this period but we are able to extrapolate some data from the later accounts, under Richard's son, Edmund, which do survive. Proceeds from the tin mines fell into two payments, one to the local bailiff and the other, more significant, payment, to the keeper of the stannaries.⁵⁸ There were also two, locally collected, taxes. The 'toll of tin' which was due to the relevant lord who owned the land that the mining was undertaken on, and was set variably year to year. The 'fine of tin' appears to have been a fixed payment, again taken annually, in addition to the 'toll'.⁵⁹ The steward's accounts for 1296-1297 reveal that Edmund was able to sell tin at a rate of £4 13s. 4d. a thousand weight and in that year. He purchased approximately one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in weight of tin, at a rate of £2 per thousand weight.⁶⁰ In this manner Edmund was able to more than double his money from the tin mines. The fact that the records are lost for the time under Richard is unfortunate but we do know that during his lifetime, Richard had access to at least four stannaries in Cornwall, as well as those in Devon. These would have been able to provide him an income of several thousand pounds a year, in addition to his land rents.⁶¹

Another avenue of revenue for Richard, of which, there are few records for this time period, are again found in greater detail, under the earldom of his son, Edmund; in the Havener's accounts.⁶² The Havener was employed to supervise the administration of the maritime profits in the county of Cornwall. The position allowed Edmund to exploit his maritime prerogatives efficiently. There are scant records to indicate that Richard employed such an official, to collect profits from

⁵⁶ '...comes Ricardus multa marcarum milia in multorum depauperationem aerario suo cumulavit', *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 629.

⁵⁷ Cassidy, 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints', pp. 150-3.

⁵⁸ Midgley, *Ministers' Accounts*, Vol. 1, pp. 26-7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, (ed.) M. Kowaleski, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. 44 (Exeter 2001).

wrecks, tolls from fish vendors and levying taxes on those drying fish.⁶³ The Havener accounts offer information on the development of ports, fishing, piracy and overseas trade in goods, such as, tin, wine and other goods. There are unfortunately no surviving charters relating to the range of maritime revenues collected under Richard, however, the accounts for his son, refer to profits from customs on wine imports, shipwrecks and more general 'marine issues'.⁶⁴ Although, the levels of funds that Richard would have been able to exact during the relevant time frame are difficult to ascertain, we can be sure that there were most certainly profits to be had. During Richard's later tenure as earl he would secure several key and strategic castles, such as Restormel and Trematon, which included harbours, ports and coastal properties.⁶⁵

How Richard chose to spend his amassed wealth is difficult to prove due, once again, to the general lack of surviving records. However, we are able to ascertain a few details in relation to his desire to refurbish and expand his holdings. In 1232, Richard was granted thirty oak trees from Windsor forest for the refurbishment of his house in Westminster.⁶⁶ To gain yet further income, Queenhithe manor was farmed to the city of London for fifty pounds a year in 1235.⁶⁷ During the 1230s Richard bought the island of Tintagel and the adjoining manor of Bossiney from Gervase de Tintagel.⁶⁸ Richard rebuilt Tintagel castle, most probably as a power and status symbol due to the association with King Arthur. The castle was completed by 1245 when he provided shelter there for his nephew, Dafydd ap Llywelyn.⁶⁹ Richard acquired the areas of the manors of Tywarnhaile and Liskeard, previously granted to Walter de Godeville for £100, in the 1230s.⁷⁰ Richard also reacquired land in Liskeard he had granted to Guy de St Amand from his brother William de St Amand.⁷¹ In 1246, Richard was granted twenty oak trees for

⁶³ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, Vol. 1 (London: Record Commission 1812-18), p. 56; In *Havener's Accounts*, (ed.) Kowaleski, Appendix II, p. 315.

⁶⁴ *Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Vol. 3, p. 457; *Havener's Accounts*, p. 4.

⁶⁵ *Havener's Accounts*, p. 5.

⁶⁶ *Close Rolls 1231-1234*, p. 409.

⁶⁷ *Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*, TNA: PRO E36/57, f.3r; *Patent Rolls Henry VI 1422-1429*, p. 556.

⁶⁸ *Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*, TNA: PRO E36/57, f.18v, f.44v.

⁶⁹ Page, 'Cornwall, earl Richard and the Barons' War', p. 24; Vincent, 'Richard, first earl of Cornwall', p. 20; J.B. Smith, 'Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Prince Dafydd ap Llywelyn and Tintagel Castle', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (2010), pp. 31-42.

⁷⁰ *Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*, TNA: PRO E36/57, f.28r.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, f.28v.

the construction of his houses at Corsham.⁷² According to the Dunstable annalist, in advance of his marriage to Sanchia, Richard made refurbishments to Berkhamsted castle and was granted 30 oaks from the king's forest of Melksham and Chippenham for this purpose in 1243.⁷³ The Dunstable annalist also wrote that in 1254 Richard further embellished Berkhamsted with a three storied tower covered with lead.⁷⁴ After being granted license to build a castle at his holding in Mere,⁷⁵ over two hundred oaks were provided to Richard between 1257 and 1262.⁷⁶

Richard also chose to demonstrate his wealth by offering patronage to several religious orders, in particular, the Cistercians. His first grant was to his father's Abbey at Beaulieu of the wealthy advowson of the church of St Keverne in Cornwall⁷⁷ and a yearly rent of ten marks from the borough of Helston.⁷⁸ Richard's most prominent grants were to his own foundation, Cistercian abbey at Hailes. In 1245, Henry gave Richard the manor of Hailes with the advowson of the church, in order that he might found a house of religion, and that the order would be quit of all secular service, as was common with other religious houses.⁷⁹ In the following year, Richard ensured that the Cistercian abbey would be unmolested, via the issue of a charter ensuring that any claims to the manor would be satisfied by the king and his heirs.⁸⁰ In 1249, the abbot of Hailes was granted a free warren in their demesne lands.⁸¹ This followed with an additional grant of the advowson of St. Breaca Church in Breage, Cornwall,⁸² and then later, all of Richard's land and appurtenances in Heath.⁸³ To this, Richard added the church of Haughley, with the chapel of Shelland,⁸⁴ and then land and appurtenances in Swell.⁸⁵ Richard also patronised the priory of St. Stephen at Launceston. He provided them with lands in

⁷² *Close Rolls 1242-1247*, p. 471.

⁷³ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 161; *Close Rolls 1242-1247*, p. 111.

⁷⁴ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM iii, p. 191.

⁷⁵ *Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*, (TNA: PRO) E36/57, f.40v.

⁷⁶ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 168.

⁷⁷ *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, no. 249, pp. 213-4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 250, p. 215; *Patent Rolls Edward II 1313-1317*, p. 111.

⁷⁹ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 288.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

⁸² *Charter Rolls 1300-1326*, pp. 489-90.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 489.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

and outside the borough of Launceston,⁸⁶ and then an annual rent of 5s. 10d. from the burgesses of Launceston (listed under the older name of Dunheved in the charter).⁸⁷ Richard also ensured the future of the lepers of Gillemartin, with a grant from Robert, the prior of Launceston, of a chapel and premises, in exchange for a tenement they held.⁸⁸ Richard confirmed land, tenements and liberties to the prior and canons of Bodmin, including a grant that the burgesses of Bodmin should be free of customs and exactions throughout Cornwall.⁸⁹ Richard made some smaller grants to the Mendicant Orders, such as land to the Black Friars' hospital in Lechlade, Gloucester,⁹⁰ and a boat to the abbot and convent of Byland on the River Ure between Boroughbridge and York.⁹¹ We are able to see that Richard granted land to the abbey and convent of Newham in Exeter, due to a later charter of his son Edmund, which confirmed Richard's earlier grant.⁹² Richard's patronage of the various religious orders was, as Vincent has argued, more conventional than fanatical, comparative to the standards of his time. Indeed, Richard does not appear to have had a particularly extraordinarily pious nature, compared with perhaps someone like Simon de Montfort.⁹³ Despite taking the cross and venturing on crusade, this seems to have been much more as a matter of course and political motivation, than as a result of particular religious devotion on his part. Richard was, however, more generous in his gifts, enabled by his strong financial position, than Vincent would have us perceive. Richard's endowments could have been greater, however, as his son, Edmund would demonstrate. Richard's religious association was, as has been seen, most closely linked with the Cistercian Order, perhaps as a result of his father's association with them. He did provide grants to the Mendicant Friars and other English monasteries however, they were less significant than those to his favoured Cistercian abbey. In his will Richard was again typically conventional, apportioning 8,000 marks in aid for the Holy Land and 500 marks to the Dominicans. He also set aside money to found a college of canons at Oxford, which

⁸⁶ *The Cartulary of Launceston Priory: Lambeth Palace MS 719*, (ed.) P.L. Hull (Devon and Cornwall Record Society 1987), no.15, p. 12.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, no.21, p. 14.

⁸⁸ MS. Cornwall Record Office, BLAUS/641.

⁸⁹ *Patent Rolls Henry VI 1422-1429*, pp. 262-3.

⁹⁰ *Close Rolls 1254-1256*, p. 5.

⁹¹ *Patent Rolls Edward III 1327-1330*, p. 249.

⁹² *Patent Rolls Edward III 1324-1327*, p. 109.

⁹³ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 77-105.

his son Edmund enlarged to build the Cistercian abbey at Rewley.⁹⁴ Richard's son, Edmund, in contrast, was more gracious in his endowments, devoting a significant amount of his inherited wealth to the religious patronage of over a dozen abbeys and priories of varying religious orders and founded several religious houses.⁹⁵

In conjunction with the importance of wealth and religious patronage to a noble's standing in the thirteenth century, the appropriate management and administration of a baronial estate was of particular importance in the demonstration of good lordship.⁹⁶ An assessment of Richard's affinity and members of his household is most easily accomplished through the examination of his personal charters. These provide us not only with information on the type of grants made but also, through the associated surviving witness lists, an insight into the men he maintained in his regular company. There are approximately one hundred or more surviving charters for Richard's lifetime,⁹⁷ a sample of which have been utilised for the purposes of this thesis. The sample covers twenty three charters or agreements made by Richard between 1225 and c.1257, a suitable period for the years covered by this thesis. I have chosen these charters as they provide an appropriate range of grants which demonstrate Richard's religious patronage, grants to his tenants and grants to members of his affinity. The majority of these charters also include surviving witness lists, of particular importance to an examination of Richard's affinity. The sample is listed in Appendix C: Calendar of Charters. Although feudal tenure does not appear to have determined membership in Richard's affinity, several key noble families who were tenants can be identified from the witness lists.

The Chanceaux family are a particularly prominent name on the witness lists for almost a dozen of Richard's charters.⁹⁸ Andrew de Chanceaux, Richard's steward in Cornwall,⁹⁹ held Litton in Berkhamsted and the manor of Lydford in the forest of Dartmoor from Richard.¹⁰⁰ Andrew de Chanceaux witnessed approximately half a dozen of Richard's charters. His son, Giles, witnessed approximately five of

⁹⁴ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 152.

⁹⁵ Vincent, 'Edmund of Almain'.

⁹⁶ L. Wilkinson, 'The Rules of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered', pp. 293-308.

⁹⁷ Vincent, 'Richard, first earl of Cornwall', p. 19.

⁹⁸ See Appendix C.

⁹⁹ *Liberate Rolls*, pp. 115-6.

¹⁰⁰ *Liber Feodorum, the Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill*, Vol.2 (London: H.M.S.O. 1923) p. 757.

Richard's charters. Giles was granted the land of Canewdon, of the honour of Rayleigh in Essex in 1242, a charter witnessed by Richard, presumably after his father's death.¹⁰¹ Reginald (II) de Vautort was the Sheriff of Cornwall in 1221 and 1224¹⁰² and appeared on Richard's charters at least twice, witnessing the grant to the priors of Bodmin and the gift of St Keverne to Hailes. The Vautort family were prominent landowners in Cornwall and had served the crown in various guises before Reginald (II) became a tenant of Richard as earl of Cornwall. As with the Chanceaux family, the Vautorts would have provided Richard with local influence and representation within Cornwall. Reginald (II) held the tenure of the significant honours of Trematon and Harberton. After his death in 1257, Richard brought the castle of Trematon into his own holdings.¹⁰³ Walter de Treverbyn succeeded Reginald (II) de Vautort as the Sheriff of Cornwall during the 1230's.¹⁰⁴ The Treverbyn family were also prominent local landholders in Cornwall, holding the borough town of West Looe. Both Walter and his son Odo witnessed several of Richard's charters during this period, including a grant of annual rent to the priory of St Michael's Mount. In a sign of favour, Odo and his heirs were given the right for West Looe to be a free borough by Richard, along with the grant of a weekly market and annual fair. Odo was also allowed the right to take the profits from the annual fair.¹⁰⁵ Another prominent local family who became vassals to Richard in Cornwall were the Cardinans. They held the land of Lostwithiel and the castle of Restormel in Cornwall.¹⁰⁶ Robert de Cardinan is followed on Richard's charters by his son, Andrew de Cardinan. The Cardinan estates under Andrew provided the service of seventy-one knights, which placed Andrew de Cardinan as one of Richard's most significant local vassals.¹⁰⁷ In a demonstration of his favour and standing, Richard gave him the manors of Tewington and Arworthal as a gift when he married.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ *Patent Rolls 1242-1247*, p. 314.

¹⁰² R. Bearman, 'Vautort, de, family (per. 1086-1274)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54516>, accessed 29 June 2013].

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Page, 'Cornwall, earl Richard and the Barons' War', p. 37.

¹⁰⁵ *Patent Rolls of Edward II 1307-1313*, p. 28; See also Appendix C.

¹⁰⁶ R. Bearman, 'Cardinan family (per. 1066-c.1300)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54501>, accessed 26 June 2013].

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Page, 'Cornwall, earl Richard and the Barons' War', p. 25; *Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*, f.33r, f.33v, f.52v.

Several of Richard's other stewards are present within his affinity and identifiable from the charter witness lists. These men managed the routine business of the estate and household administration for the earl.¹⁰⁹ John de Lamford, steward of Cornwall during the 1250s appeared on one charter, the grant to the lepers of Gillemartin. John de Turri, Richard's steward and constable of Wallingford,¹¹⁰ appeared on at least nine of Richard's charters during the period. This is more than any other person listed in the witness lists and rivalled in number only by Richard's clerk, Phillip of Eye. It is unclear, however, whether John held any land from Richard. William de Irby, constable of Knaresborough, who stood witness to approximately half a dozen charters, held land in his own right in Irby and Glassenby in Lincolnshire.¹¹¹ Another steward, John fitz John, appeared on only two of Richard's charters but is listed as having died whilst on crusade with Richard in 1240.¹¹² Walter Galun, Richard's bailiff at Mere, appeared on only a single occasion within the sample.¹¹³

Several of Richard's minor tenants and household knights are identifiable on a number of Richard's charters. Guy de St Amand witnessed at least four charters, while Henry Teutonicus witnessed approximately half a dozen of Richard's charters. Henry held the manor of Alverton from Richard.¹¹⁴ Richard de Punchardun, one of Richard's household knights, appeared at least half a dozen times. Richard was clearly an important and trusted member of Richard's household, as he was one of the nominated knights sent to the castle of Devizes to keep custody of Hubert de Burgh.¹¹⁵ Two other household knights and one baron who appear in the witness lists are also noted as having travelled abroad with Richard. William Talebot, who

¹⁰⁹ Wilkinson, 'The Rules of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered', p. 293; For further information on household administration see M.W. Labarge, *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode 1965).

¹¹⁰ 'Thame: Topography, manors and estates', *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 7: Dorchester and Thame hundreds* (ed.) M. Lobel (1962), pp. 160-178. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=63775> [accessed 28th June 2013]; A. Polden, 'A Crisis of the Knightly Class? Inheritance and Office among the Gentry of Thirteenth-Century Buckinghamshire', *Regionalism and Revision, The Crown and its Provinces in England 1250-1650*, (eds.) P. Fleming, A. Gross and J. R. Lander (London: Hambledon Press 1998), p. 35.

¹¹¹ *Charter Rolls 1226-1257*, p. 281.

¹¹² Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 41.

¹¹³ *British Borough Charters 1216-1307*, (eds.) A. Ballard, J. Tait (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010), p. xli.

¹¹⁴ Page, 'Cornwall, earl Richard and the Barons' War', p. 25.

¹¹⁵ *Liberate Rolls*, p. 190.

witnessed one charter, had travelled with Richard to Gascony in 1227.¹¹⁶ Hubert de Neville, who witnessed two charters, and Thomas de Warblinton, who witnessed a single charter, are listed as having travelled with Richard to Germany in 1257 as part of his household contingent. Sir John de Stuteville, son of William de Stuteville, a baron, who also travelled in the party to Germany,¹¹⁷ appeared at least twice on Richard's charters. Six of Richard's other household knights can be identified from the records. Peter Breton and Peter de Geneve both witnessed two charters each, while William de Botreaux can also be seen as witness on two charters. Sir Ivo, noted as 'the earl's brother' on the grant to Roger de Carminow, is also listed twice in the charters however, there appears to be little information available at this time about the life of this individual. Finally, Robert FitzWilliam represented Richard as a witness on at least three charters, while Richard de Tany, later sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, appears on only a single occasion.

Finally, we are also able to identify at least four of Richard's household clerks. Robert de Asthall is present on the lists for at least half a dozen of Richard's charters during this period.¹¹⁸ Similarly William Blundel is also listed on numerous charters, whilst Nicholas de Enna can be found as the named clerk to whom the gold bars and spangles are delivered in 1245, as part of Henry's loan repayment to Richard.¹¹⁹ Philip of Eye, Richard's long standing household clerk, later appointed as treasurer of England,¹²⁰ witnessed more than half a dozen of the charters within the sample. It is clear from an examination of these charter witness lists that Richard's affinity was drawn from a mixture of his household officers, some of his feudal tenants and also knights who held land from other magnates. These men would have desired to serve Richard for a variety of reasons, some with the hope of increasing their personal wealth through the association of such a powerful magnate. Others would have hoped to receive gifts of land for their service, perhaps more easily than through service to other nobles, due to Richard's personal status, position and links with the crown. Some may have sought to gain a position within his household and the possible increased reputation this might bestow as a

¹¹⁶ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 92.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ See Appendix C.

¹¹⁹ *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 456.

¹²⁰ Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, p. 149.

result, whilst others would have served simply to be able to claim association with a powerful noble such as Richard. Richard's diverse affinity can thus be said to be representative of the changing nature of honorial lordship in the thirteenth century highlighted by David Carpenter.¹²¹

¹²¹ D. Carpenter, 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', *Past & Present*, No. 168 (Aug 2000), pp. 30-71.

Conclusion

Richard was without doubt the most influential and wealthiest magnate in England by the end of this period of study. A clear picture of his personality and character is difficult to ascertain. There are, however, some insights into Richard's character provided by contemporary writers. We are able to establish some aspects of Richard's character and build a partial portrait of the man and his personality through accounts of his actions. Matthew Paris would have us believe Richard's lack of martial ability was due to general poor health and minimal training in combat.¹ Richard most definitely appears to have favoured diplomacy and negotiation to direct armed confrontation. Whilst on crusade in 1241 Richard spent little to no time in armed combat, preferring to utilise his skills as a diplomat and make use of political dialogue to bring about the release of prisoners and establish a truce with the Sultan of Egypt.² Similarly, in 1242, it was Richard's verbal skills rather than martial prowess which enabled Henry's forces to escape a dire situation against the French army.³ We are given the impression of Richard as a man with a strong, forceful will, coupled with a quick mind and sharp intellect.

Richard's personal reputation does appear to have been damaged to some extent, according to contemporary chroniclers, due to his constant switching of allegiance during these early rebellions. Paris refers to his reputation in 1238 as having been 'greatly damaged' and that the barons became 'suspicious' of his intentions.⁴ However, he continued to play a crucial part in negotiations between baronial factions and the crown across the period, so he was clearly trusted and highly regarded for his integrity in these situations. His diplomatic skills were evidently very strong and his counsel, as well as his finances, was relied upon, in increasing fashion, by his brother Henry. The negotiations on the Welsh peace treaty were delayed in 1238 because Henry could not secure Richard's presence, and he was integral to Henry in negotiating the treaty with Scotland and also the

¹ *Chronica Majora*, v, p. 347, '...corpore sanus et integer nullatenus extitit, tum quia in armis strenuus nec exercitatus extitit'.

² *Annals of Tewkesbury*, AM i, p. 118; *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, AM iv, p. 87; *Annals of Waverley*, AM ii, p. 328

³ *Chronica Majora*, iv, pp. 212-223.

⁴ *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 479, '...et famam comitis R[icardi] in magna parte denigravit; et sic factus est deinceps suspectus...'

marriage of Richard de Clare in the same year, undertaken '...with the counsel of earl Richard...'.⁵ Henry, in contrast to Richard, appears to have been much less skilled in these matters. Derided as 'feckless' by some historians,⁶ Henry was clearly the less capable of the two brothers and often in need of his brother's advice and assistance as his reign progressed.

Richard's opinions and assistance were sought on matters throughout continental Europe, as a result of his marriage and political connections to various noble households. The most politically significant of these marriages can be said to have been his second marriage, to Sanchia of Provence. This tied him to Henry III's continental policies and aligned him more favourably with the Savoyard relatives at court. His association and successes on various campaigns in France and the Holy land, including saving the English army from complete annihilation by the French in 1242, would see his political standing increase to such an extent that he was able to claim the imperial throne of Germany. His attempts to consolidate his rule in Germany and claim the associated title of Holy Roman Emperor in later life were overshadowed by Henry's increasing reliance upon Richard's advice and financial support and the need for additional backing against the baronial movement of reform.⁷

The early rebellions against the crown benefitted Richard immensely, however, on each occasion Richard's gains ultimately far outweighed those of the associated allied barons. Richard's rebellion in 1227 had a number of contributory factors and seems to have been heavily influenced by the relationship between Richard and Hubert de Burgh. The principal factors were disputes over land; the order that Richard relinquish Berkhamsted to Hubert's nephew Raymond and the dispute between Richard and Waleran which is said to have sparked the rebellion. Despite this being the main factor in Richard's rebellion, the name of the disputed manor is not documented but may well have been Alverton in Cornwall, which was later held by Henry Teutonicus. There are no surviving records to indicate formal

⁵ See above p. 49; *Close Rolls 1234-1247*, pp. 536-7 for the Welsh Treaty; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 203, *Chronica Majora*, iii, p. 413 for the Treaty with Scotland; *Patent Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 199 for the marriage.

⁶ Vincent, *Richard, first Earl of Cornwall*, p. 18.

⁷ Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire*, pp. 182-197; B. Weiler, 'Image and Reality in Richard of Cornwall's Germany Career', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 113, No. 454 (Nov 1998), p. 1116.

litigation between Richard and Waleran, so it is presumed that any resolution was made independently of the king's court. The resultant rebel alliance between Richard and William Marshal (II) expanded to include members of the Marshal's extended family and some of the wealthiest and influential nobles within England. All these men were crucially anti Hubert de Burgh and it would seem that Richard's argument was used as a standard to raise other pre-existing concerns. The demands made by the rebel alliance, aside from Richard's restitution, included that de Burgh should step down. Richard's placatory awards were significant, while his baronial allies appear to have gained little, if anything, and the rebel demands had little hope of being accomplished once Richard had been appeased. Richard's previously unknown movements during the next two years after the rebellion have been highlighted and are accompanied by further payments and awards from the crown, no doubt aimed, in part, at securing Richard's continued loyalty. Richard's gains, as have been stated, far outweighed those of the associated allied barons who supported him in 1227. As a result, the various complaints against the crown would continue to be raised by the baronage, culminating in the period of baronial reform and rebellion of 1258-1267. Disputes over alleged crown infringements into baronial rights continued beyond the reign of Henry III.⁸

Richard's marriage in 1231 further tied him with the Marshal affinity and aligned him with the anti de Burgh earls of Derby, Norfolk and Pembroke, his brothers-in-law. Rumours of a potential rebellion by Richard Marshal in 1231 over inheritance of the earldom of Pembroke saw Richard stripped of the Briouze lands in the Welsh Marches and the castle of Wallingford. While it is evident that Richard did not raise arms himself at this stage, it is likely that he was favourable toward Richard Marshal's position. The return of Peter des Roches and a corresponding significant political shift at court against Hubert de Burgh forestalled any further rebellion and saw Richard Marshal become earl of Pembroke, with Richard awarded Cornwall in hereditary fee for an extraordinarily low sum. The change of political power from Hubert de Burgh to Peter des Roches and the associated grants of land

⁸ Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III*, pp. 105-6; M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London: Methuen 1990), pp. 413-4, 420-1; D. Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (London: Penguin Books 2004), p. 477; M. Prestwich, 'Edward I (1239-1307)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8517>] [accessed 11 July 2013].

which followed were primarily in favour of the des Roches camp, at the expense of Richard and members of the Marshal affinity. The reasons for the Marshal rebellion in 1233-4 were as a result of rising tensions between these two new power blocs. Richard may well have been sympathetic to his brother-in-law, however, there is no evidence that he took up arms. Richard's movements between Radnor in March (the last time Richard and the Marshal were together) and his presence at court in Winchester in June are, unfortunately, still unknown due to a lack of documentary evidence. Richard's allegiance to the crown during this rebellion appears to have been retained by additional gifts of land and the lucrative wardship of the earl of Devon. During the height of the rebellion Richard continued to receive further awards of land, in all likelihood to ensure and maintain this allegiance. It is clear from the attack on Richard's manor of Beckley by Richard Siward, that some members of the Marshal affinity were unhappy with Richard's loyalty to the crown and apparent lack of support to the Marshal cause during the rebellion.

It is clear that these early rebellions were principally focused on land disputes and heavily influenced by the political manoeuvring of the various factions at court. Their wider impact on domestic politics can be readily established. In 1227 and 1231-2 they were focused against Hubert de Burgh and in 1233-4 against Peter des Roches. It is also clear that Richard was integral to the anti de Burgh faction in 1227 and his switch of allegiance resulted in any successful movement against de Burgh being delayed until 1231-2. Richard's allegiance to the court in 1233-4 appears to have been particularly important. Thus significant efforts were made to secure his allegiance and prevent him from actively supporting the Marshal rebellion. Richard's subsequent allegiance to the crown was rewarded after the fall of Peter des Roches and the end of the Marshal rebellion with significant grants of land, more so than any other member of the baronage. The absence of the figures of Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches and with their divisive factional rivalry no longer affecting politics at court, the relationship between Richard and Henry was relatively harmonious for the next four years. The only other significant break between the brothers was to occur following the marriage of their sister Eleanor to Simon de Montfort in 1238. Richard, angry at a lack of consultation, aligned himself with Gilbert Marshal and raised arms against Henry. Any full scale rebellion, however, was short lived, prompting accusations of secret bribes. While it is

possible that there was some form of influence offered to Richard to settle any perceived grievance, it may alternatively be presented that Richard simply had too much to risk from a full scale rebellion and, his initial anger having cooled, made peace with de Montfort and instead concentrated on his plans for crusade.⁹ The most significant impact of the 1238 rebellion was to secure Richard's allegiance to the crown for the foreseeable future and at the same time present Richard with a path toward political and fiscal dominance within English domestic politics. Richard's close support of his brother in particular would stand as a forestalling measure against further rebellion from the baronial factions for a number of years. Indeed, the period of baronial reform and revolt began whilst Richard was absent from England. It can also be argued that the reason it was possible for the baronial alliance to establish the Provisions of Oxford (1258) and take control of the royal court was due, in large part, to Richard's absence from the domestic political scene. In support of this argument, one need only examine the reaction of the baronial alliance to Richard's impending return to England in 1259. Afraid of Richard's reaction to the events in England, a feudal army was raised and stationed at Canterbury. A contingent was sent to meet him in France and Richard was initially prevented from crossing the channel unless he swore an oath to uphold the Provisions. After eleven days of protracted negotiations, Richard was eventually able to cross the channel having agreed to swear an oath in the presence of the king. On his arrival at Dover, however, he was barred entry to the castle. The barons were unwilling to allow anyone entry who had not sworn the oath. Richard instead had to travel directly on to Canterbury to meet with Henry, where he eventually took the oath.¹⁰ The army was not stood down and tensions were not alleviated until Richard had completed his oath. These actions alone demonstrate the power and influence Richard had accumulated within the wider political community in England.

⁹ Richard also maintained a close relationship with his sister that continued later in life, evidenced by the treatment he received during his Montfortian captivity and the many gifts sent to him by Eleanor. Their relationship remained close after his release and Richard supplied letters patent in favour of Eleanor and her children. Deholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, pp. 130-1. For more information on their close relationship and Richard's time in captivity also see Wilkinson, L.J., *Eleanor de Montfort: A Rebel Countess in Medieval England*.

¹⁰ *Chronica Majora*, v, pp. 731-6.

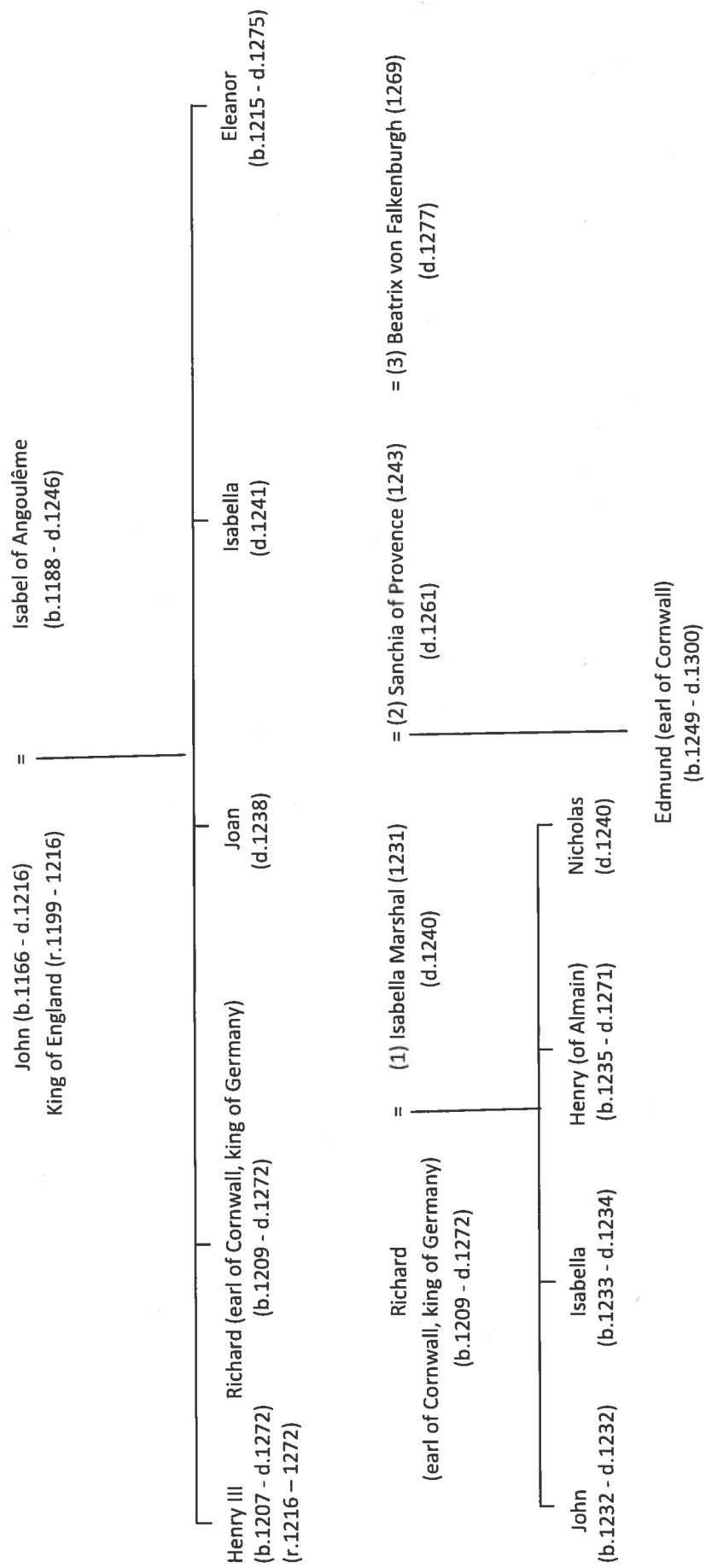
The outcome of the early rebellions would ultimately aid Richard in becoming the wealthiest magnate in England, as on each occasion Henry would provide him with increasing levels of gifts and land. Indeed, it can be argued that, in addition, Richard's second marriage, brought about as a result of a need to bring Richard into alignment with crown policy and of great political significance to Henry and his wife Eleanor, was vastly more important to Richard in terms of finance. It brought him several thousand pounds worth of land and an annual payment from the crown. Richard's high level of income was aided by the incredibly favourable deals he was able to obtain on land granted by Henry. Cornwall and Wallingford, for example, were awarded for five and three knights fees respectively. The return on these lands Richard was able to obtain was at least over one hundred times the cost of his own fees. This wealth allowed Richard to become the dominant player within Henry III's council from 1238 onwards. This was demonstrated by his ability to override planned judicial eyres within Cornwall and collect significant funds from the thirtieth taken within that year. This fiscal dominance saw Richard support Henry and other members of his extended family with increasingly large sums of money and would allow Richard to take control of the running of the royal mint and exchanges in 1247. This action would reward him with an additional approximate £20,000 in profits and fines for currency regulation breaches during his tenure in control.

The difference in twenty years from a newly created earl in 1225-7, reliant on crown funds and benevolence for support, to that of the wealthiest magnate in the realm, financing the crown with a series of loans, should not be overlooked. By 1250, Richard held land in over sixteen counties in England, estates which were valued as worth at least £5,000 to £6,000 per year, a level that can be safely revised upward to between £6,000 and £7,000. Richard's nearest rival in terms of fiscal income was the earl of Gloucester, who received less than £4,000. These extensive estates provided him with unparalleled power in England and allowed him to make a number of significant religious grants during his lifetime and accumulate a diverse and substantial affinity by which he sought to assert this dominance and influence. In the years that follow this period of study, Richard's wealth and influence would prove of crucial importance to his brother Henry, as he sought to maintain his hold on the crown of England against continuing baronial pressures of reform and revolt.

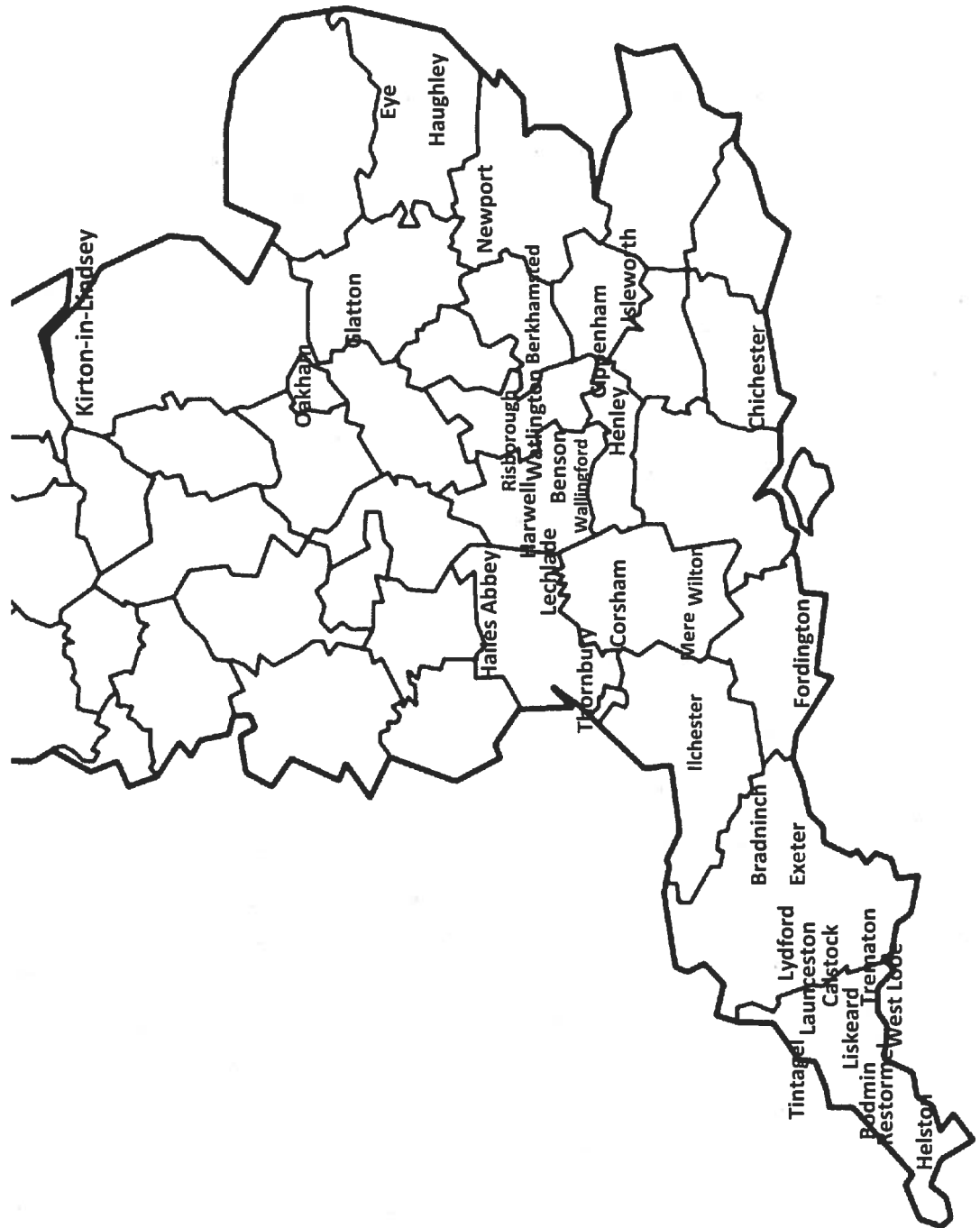
Had Richard wished he could have quite easily challenged his brother for the throne of England, however, he seems to have preferred a role more suited to his diplomatic skills and sought to achieve his own regal ambitions through the pursuit of the German throne.¹¹ Richard remains the wealthiest magnate of his age, surpassed only by his son and the future King Edward III. This was a position that would have been much less likely had he not wrought the successes from his early rebellions against the crown and recouped the associated awards. Had Richard chosen a different path during his early life, the history of the English crown in the thirteenth century could well have been vastly different.

¹¹ Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufan Empire*, pp. 172-197; Weiler, 'Image and Reality in Richard of Cornwall's Germany Career', pp. 1111-1142.

Appendix A: Genealogy



Appendix B: Map of Holdings



Appendix C: Calendar of Charters

RC 1

1227 x 1229

Grant by Richard, count of Poitou, earl of Cornwall, to his liege man, Ralph de Tony (IV), of the advowson of the manors of Blisland and Carnanton (in Mawgan in Pydar), except the advowson of the churches, and 100s. annual rent from his demesne in Helstone (Cornwall), to hold as half a fee.

Witnessed: Andrew de Chanceaux, Walter de Godeville, Henry Teutonicus, William Talebot, Peter Caudin, Nicholas the clerk, Peter the Butler.

Source: *The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters 1100-1268*, no.373, (ed.) E. Mason (London: Pipe Rolls Society 1980), p. 212.

RC 2

1227 x 1241

Grant to the church of St Stephen of Launceston of lands in and outside the borough. Witnessed: Andrew de Chanceaux, Richard de Turri, Henry the German, Henry de Franchenne, Richard de Punchardun, Ivo, the Earl's brother, Herbert de Novila, Alan Hurri, Henry de Bodrugan, Ralph Bloyou and Simon de Brackley.

Source: *Launceston Priory Cartulary*, (ed.) Hull, P.L. no. 15, p. 12.

RC 3

1227 x 1241

Grant to Launceston priory of 5s. 10d. rent from the burgesses of Launceston.

Witnessed: Andrew de Cardinan, William de Botreaux, Andrew de Chanceaux, Richard de Turri, Walter de Treverbyn, Odo de Treverbyn, Robert fitz William and Roger de Trelosk.

Source: *Launceston Priory Cartulary*, (ed.) Hull, P.L. no. 21, p. 14.

RC 4

1227 x 1241

Grant to Sir Odo de Treverbyn and his heirs that his borough of West Looe be a free borough and granting a market every Wednesday and an annual fair, the said Odo and his heirs to take all issues and profits belonging to the said fair

Witnessed: Hugh de Sancto Phileberto, Ralph de Sulling, Robert son of William, Walter son of William, Richard de Kildard, Auger de Tregorioz.

Source: *Patent Rolls Edward II 1324-1327*, p. 28.

RC 5

1227 x 1242

A grant to the priory of St Michael's Mount of an annual rent of ten shillings.

Witnessed: Andrew de Cardinan, William de Botreaux, Andrew de Chanceaux, Richard de Turri, Walter de Treverbyn, Odo de Treverbyn.

Source: *Cartulary of St Michael's Mount*, no. 4 (ed.) P.L. Hull, (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. 5, 1962).

RC 6

1227 x 1243

Grant to the priory of St Michael's Mount of land in Goonhilly.

Witnessed: Andrew de Chanceaux, Guy de St Amand, John fitz Thomas, Peter Breton, Richard de Punchardun and Robert de Asthall.

Source: *Cartulary of St Michael's Mount*, no. 4, (ed.) P.L. Hull, (Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. 5 1962).

RC 7

1227 x 1243

Confirmation of charter by Richard earl of Cornwall granting and confirming to the prior and canons of Bodmin all their lands, tenements, possessions and liberties, and the charters and protections which they have from his ancestors, with the water of Alan. Grant also that the burgesses of Bodmin shall be free of all customs and exactions throughout Cornwall and shall have their gild merchant free as they have been wont by the rent of 40s. and which they render yearly to the earl's attorney and be free of tallage and have other liberties and privileges.

Witnessed: Andrew de Chanceaux, Richard de Latur, Henry le Tyel, Robert de Cardinan, Reginald de Vautort, Robert son of Willelm, Nicholas de Enna, John Blanobussi.

Source: *Patent Rolls Henry VI 1422-1429*, pp. 262-263.

RC 8

1227 x 1243

Inspeximus of a charter of Richard granted to the burgesses of Tintagel that they be free and quit of tallage and pontage and allowed to hold a weekly market and yearly fair.

Witnessed: Andrew de Chanceaux, Guy de St Amand, Peter Britone, Sir Ivo, Richard de Punchardun, William de Moiun, Robert de Asthall, clerk.

Source: *Patent Rolls Richard II 1385-1389*, p. 245.

RC 9

1230s

Agreement between Richard and the city of London for the farm of Queenhithe.

Source: *Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*, TNA: PRO E36/57, f.3r.

RC 10

1235

Grant to the abbot and convent of Beaulieu the advowson of the church of St.

Keverne. Witnessed: Andrew de Cardinan, Reginald de Vautort, William de Botreaux, Walter de Treverbyn, Andrew de Chanceaux, Richard de Turri, Henry the German, Guy de St Amand, Nicholas Danne and Robert de Asthall.

Source: *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, no. 249, pp. 213-214; *Patent Rolls Edward III 1343-1345*, p. 379.

RC 11

c.1235

Grant to Roger de Carminow of a watercourse between the manors of Helston and Carminow.

Witnessed: Andrew de Chanceaux, Guy de St Amand, Ivo, the earl's brother, Peter Breton, Richard de Punchardun, John fitz Thomas and Robert de Asthall.

Source: Cornwall Record Office, AR 1/184.

RC 12

1231 x 1240

Grant to the abbot and convent of Citeaux, for the expenses of the general chapter, and or his soul and those of the countess Isabel his wife and John king of England his father, and of all his ancestors and successors, of the church of Stainley in the diocese of York, which was in his gift, to hold in frank almoin. To be held by the abbot and convent for the use of the general chapter.

Witnessed: Sirs Richard de Turri, William de Irby, Giles de Chanceaux, Richard de Punchardun, knights, Nicholas de Anna, William Blundel, Philip de Eye, clerks.

Source: *Yorkshire Deeds*, Vol. 3, (ed.) W. Brown (Cambridge University Press: 2013), p. 136.

RC 13

July 1240

Grant by Richard, earl of Cornwall, for the health of his soul and that of his wife I. of happy memory, formerly countess of Cornwall and Gloucester and of his ancestors, to the abbot and convent of Citeaux of 20 marks sterling of yearly rent for the support of the general chapter, to be taken from his mills of Boroughbridge within the octave of St. Michael. If the abbot and convent could not get these 20 marks there, they were to be taken from the rents of his manor of Knaresborough.

Witnessed: Sir William de Irby, constable of Knaresborough Castle, Richard de Turri, Baldwin de Betunia, John son of John, Herbert de Neville, Nicholas de Anna, Robert de Echalle, clerks.

Source: *Yorkshire Deeds*, Vol. 3, p.8

RC 14

1240s

Grant to St. Mary of Hailes and the monks there the church of St. Breaca, in Breage Cornwall, with all appurtenances to be held by them in frank almain.

Witnessed: Simon de Montfort, Peter of Savoy, William of York, provost of Beverley, Sir R. Passelewe archdeacon of Lewes, Silvester de Everdone archdeacon of Chester, Hugh de Vivonia, Peter de Geneve, Robert de Musgrove, Paulin Pejure, William de Irby, Giles de Chanceaux, William Blundel, Philip de Eye.

Source: *Charter Rolls 1300-1326*, pp. 489-490.

RC 15

1240 x 1242

Grant to Beaulieu Abbey of ten marks from the borough of Helston.

Witnessed: Andrew de Chanceaux, Richard de Turri, William de Irby, Giles de Chanceaux, John de Bretasche, John fitz John, John fitz Thomas, Henry the Bastard, Richard de Punchardun, Nicholas Danne and Robert de Asthall.

Source: *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, no. 250, p. 215; *Patent Rolls Edward II 1313-1317*, p. 111.

RC 16**1242 x**

Inspeximus of a charter of Richard... that the earl had granted to his customary tenants of the manor of Corsham the whole manor with rents, demesne lands, meadows, feedings and pastures, saving a third part of the meadow of Mynteme'de, the seat of his stew, his parks, warren and the pleas, perquisites and escheats falling to the earl or his heirs, to hold to them and their successors by the rent of 110 marks...that the said tenants were to be quit of tallage, frank pledge and all other customs and services due to the earl and his heirs... saving to the king and his heirs.

Witnessed: Sirs Richard de Tuny, Sampson de la Bokxe, Henry Crok and Philip de Eye, Walter Galun, then bailiff, Hartinus de Horcham, Sir Gilbert, then prior of Corsham, Richard de Cumberwell, Ralph then vicar of Corsham.

Source: *Patent Rolls Edward III 1330-1334*, p. 311.

RC 17**1243 x**

Confirmation of the grant by Richard to the abbot and convent of Byland, in frank almain, of a boat on the Ure between Boroughbridge and York.

Source: *Patent Rolls Edward III 1327-1330*, p. 249.

RC 18**1246**

Charter of Richard, earl of Cornwall for the foundation of Hailes Abbey.

Witnessed: Simon de Montfort, Peter of Savoy, William of York, provost of Beverley, Sir R. Passelewe archdeacon of Lewes, Silvester de Everdone, archdeacon of Chester, Hugh de Vivonne , Peter de Geneve, Robert de Musgrove, Paulino Pejure, William de Irby , Giles de Chanceaux ,William Blundel, Philip de Eye, clerks.

Source: Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. 5, p. 688.

RC 19**1246 x 1247**

Grant to the abbot and convent of Hailes the church of Haughley with the chapel of Shelland, to be held in frank almain.

Source: *Charter Rolls 1300-1326*, p. 489.

RC 20**23 February 1256[-7]**

Confirmation of a grant to the abbot and convent of Hailes of his land of Heath with all appurtenances to be held in frank almoin.

Witnessed: Sir John de Stuteville, Richard de Turri, William Talebot, Philip de Eye, Matyas de Synagon, William le Poer, Bardulf de Cesterton, Philip de Scesnecot, Thomas Labanc, Walter de Bradewell.

Source: *Charter Rolls 1300-1326*, p. 489.

RC 21**24 February 1256[-7]**

Confirmation of a grant to St. Mary and the Cistercian monks of Hailes all the lands which the said earl had by purchase in fee and inheritance in Swell with all appurtenances, saving to the earl and his heirs the buildings and houses there built by him together with the park and enclosure and the little fish-pond in the Town of Swell, with free access thereto without any contradiction from the monks provided always that by the retention of the said fish-pond the condition of the mill there shall not be deteriorated.

Witnessed: Roger elect of Coventry and Lichfield, Robert de Esthall, archdeacon of Worcester, Richard de Turri, Herbert de Neville, Thomas de Werblinton, Robert Malet, Philip de Eye, Peter de Esserugge, Roger de Sancto Constantino.

Source: *Charter Rolls 1300-1326*, p. 489.

RC 22**10 April 1257**

Confirmation of a grant to the Trinitarian friars of the chapel of St. Robert, Knaresborough, land granted by king John to St. Robert with additional lands, woods and pasture.

Witnessed: William de Ros, John de Stuteville, William de Irby, William de Furnival, Richard de Turri, Philip de Eye, William Blundel, Robert de Kynton.

Source: *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, p. 240.

RC 23**1257 x**

Confirmation of a grant to the monastery and nunnery of Burnham of the chapel of Cippenham, the mill of Aymale and a water-course to be held in frank almoin.

Witnessed: Henry son of Richard, Edmund son of Richard, Roger de Aymal, Hugh de Durival, Henry le Tyes (Teutonicus), Gilbert de Wesewykes and William Pasket, then bailiff of Richard.

Source: *Calendar of Charter Rolls 1257-1300*, p. 99.

MISC 1

1230s

Grant by Gervase de Tyntagel to Richard, earl of Cornwall, of the island of Tintagel and the castle.

Source: *Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall*, TNA: PRO E36/57, f.44v.

MISC 2

8 August 1242

Grant to Giles de Chanceaux, knight of Richard, for his homage and service, of that whole land in Canewdon...belonging to the honour of Rayleigh, co. Essex; to hold to him and his heirs begotten of his wife... of the king and his heirs by the services due.

Source: *Patent Rolls Henry III 1232-1247*, p. 314.

MISC 3

1245 x 1257

Grant by Robert, prior of Launceston, and the convent of the Priory to the Lepers of Gillemartin, by the wish of Earl Richard of Cornwall, of the land of Gillemartin in Launceston with chapel and premises, in exchange for the tenement which they now hold which was granted to them by Brian, Count of Cornwall.

Witnessed: Richard, earl of Cornwall, Lord Richard, bishop of Exeter, Lord John, archdeacon of Cornwall, John de Lamford, steward of Cornwall, Reginald of Botreaux, Gervase de Hornicote, Roger of Trelosk, William Wise, Hamelin Miles, mayor, John Dyer, Henry of Trevelle.

Source: Cornwall Record Office, CRO BLAUS/641.

Bibliography

1. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

A. The National Archives

Cartulary of charters of Edmund, late earl of Cornwall, TNA: PRO E36/57.

Charter Rolls TNA: PRO C53/25, m.4.

Fine Rolls TNA: PRO C60/30, m.4.

Exchequer Pipe Rolls, TNA: PRO E372/95, rot.6, E372/98, rot.6, E372/100, rot.19d.

B. Cornwall Record Office

Launceston Borough Charters, Grant of Gillemartin Land, CRO BLAUS/641.

Arundel Family of Lanherne, Title Deeds, Carminow Manor, CRO AR 1/184.

2. PRINTED SOURCES

Annals of Bermondsey, (ed.) H.R. Luard, *Annales Monastici* (AM) iii (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), 421-88.

Annals of Burton, (ed.) H.R. Luard, AM i (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), 183-500.

Annals of Dunstable, (ed.) H.R. Luard, AM iii (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), 3-408.

Annals of Margam, (ed.) H.R. Luard, AM i (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), 1-40.

Annals of Oseney, (ed.) H.R. Luard, AM iv (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), 3-355.

Annals of Tewkesbury, (ed.) H.R. Luard, AM i (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), 43-182.

Annals of Winchester, (ed.) H.R. Luard, AM ii (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), 3-128.

Annals of Waverley, (ed.) H.R. Luard, AM ii (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), 129-412.

Annals of Worcester, (ed.) H.R. Luard, AM iv (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864), 355-562.

The Beauchamp Cartulary Charters 1100-1268, (ed.) E. Mason (London: Pipe Rolls Society 1980).

The Beaulieu Cartulary, (ed.) S.F. Hockey (Southampton: University Press 1974).

'The borough of Wallingford: Introduction and castle', *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 3*, (eds.) P.H. Ditchfield and W. Page (1923), pp. 517-531
<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43256> [accessed 29 June 2013].

British Borough Charters 1216-1307, (eds.) A. Ballard, J. Tait (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010).

Close Rolls, Henry III (H.M.S.O. 1902-).

Close Rolls (Supplementary) of the Reign of Henry III, 1244-66 (H.M.S.O. 1975).

Calendar of the Charter Rolls (H.M.S.O. 1916-).

Calendar of Liberate Rolls (H.M.S.O. 1916-).

Calendar of Patent Rolls (H.M.S.O. 1906-).

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem (H.M.S.O. 1904-).

Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III 1216–1234, (ed.) P. Dryburgh and B. Hartland, (technical eds.), A. Ciula and J.M. Vieira, 3 vols. (Woodbridge, 2007-2009). All the rolls for the reign are available and with English translation on the Henry III Fine Rolls Project's website (<http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk>) [accessed January 2012].

The Cartulary of Launceston Priory: Lambeth Palace MS 719, (ed.) P.L. Hull (Devon and Cornwall Record Society 1987).

Cartulary of St Michael's Mount, (ed.) P.L. Hull, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. 5 (Exeter 1962).

'Chronicle of Melrose' in *The Church Historians of England* Vol. 4, (ed.) J. Stevenson (London: Seeleys 1856).

The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301, (ed.) A. Gransden (London: Nelson Medieval Texts 1964).

Cornwall Feet of Fines, Vol. 1, 1195-1377, (ed.) J.H. Rowe (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society 1914).

Dugdale, W., *Monasticon Anglicanum: a History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, 6 Vols. in 8, (ed.) J. Caley. H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown 1817-1830).

Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae Et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, T. Rymer (ed.), new edn, Vol. 1, part I, (ed.) A. Clark and F. Holbrooke (Record Commission 1816).

The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356, (ed.) M. Kowaleski, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, New Series, Vol. 44 (Exeter 2001).

Liber Feodorum, the Book of Fees, commonly called Testa de Nevill, 3 Vols. (London: H.M.S.O. 1920-31).

Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora, (ed.) H. Luard, 7 Vols. (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1872-83).

Ministers' Accounts of the Earldom of Cornwall 1296-1297, (ed.) L.M. Midgley, 2 Vols. (London: Royal Historical Society 1945).

'Les Registres de Gregoire IX' (ed.) L. Auvray, *Libraire des Ecoles Francais D'Athenes et de Rome*, 4 Vols. (Paris 1907).

Rogeri de Wendover Flores Historiarum, (ed.) H.O. Coxe (London: Sumptibus Societatis 1841).

Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati, (ed.) T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission 1831).

Rotuli Hundredorum, 2 Vols. (London: Record Commission 1812-18).

Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati, Vol. 2., (ed.) T.D. Hardy (London: Record Commission 1833).

Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati, (ed.) T. D. Hardy (London: Record Commission 1831).

Royal and other Historical Letters Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III, 2 Vols. (ed.) W.W. Shirley (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer 1866).

The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Henry III (1226-1272) from the charter rolls in the Public Record Office, (ed.) M. Morris, 2 Vols. (Kew: List and Index Society 291-2 2001).

'Thame: Topography, manors and estates', *A History of the County of Oxford: Volume 7: Dorchester and Thame hundreds*, (ed.) M. Lobel (1962), pp. 160-178, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=63775> [accessed 28th June 2013].

Thomas Wykes' Chronicle, (ed.) H.R. Luard, AM iv (London: Longman, Rolls Series 1864).

Yorkshire Deeds, Vol. 3, (ed.) W. Brown (Cambridge University Press 2013).

3. SECONDARY SOURCES

Allen, M., *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2012).

Altschul, M., *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press 1965).

Archer, T. A., 'Clare, Gilbert de, fifth earl of Gloucester and fourth earl of Hertford (c.1180–1230)', rev. Michael Altschul, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Oct 2005 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5437> [accessed 10 June 2013].

Bearman, R., 'Vautort, de, family (per. 1086–1274)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004) ; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54516> [accessed 29 June 2013].

Bearman, R., 'Cardinan family (per. 1066-c.1300)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004) ; online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54501> [accessed 26 June 2013]).

Carpenter, D., *The Reign of Henry III* (London: Hambledon Continuum 1996).

Carpenter, D., 'The career of Godfrey of Crowcombe', *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles c.1150-1500*, (ed.) C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle, L. Scales (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2008).

Carpenter, D., 'The Second Century of English Feudalism', *Past & Present*, No. 168 (Aug 2000).

Carpenter, D., *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (London: Penguin Books 2004).

Cassidy, R., 'Richard of Cornwall and the royal mints and exchanges, 1247-59', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 172 (2012).

Cheney, C.R., 'The Paper Constitution Preserved by Matthew Paris', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 65, No. 255 (April 1950).

Chrissis, N., 'A Diversion that never was: Thibaut IV of Champagne, Richard of Cornwall and Pope Gregory IX's Crusading Plans for Constantinople, 1235-1239', *Crusades*, Vol. 9 (2010).

Clanchy, M.T., *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (Oxford: Blackwell 1992).

Crook, D., *Records of the General Eyre, PRO Handbook No. 20* (H.M.S.O. 1982).

Crouch, D., *The English Aristocracy, 1070-1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2011).

Crouch, D., 'Marshal, William (I), fourth earl of Pembroke (c.1146–1219)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, May 2007 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18126> [accessed 12 October 2012].

Denholm-Young, N., *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford: Blackwell 1947).

Denholm-Young, N., 'Thomas de Wykes and His Chronicle' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 61, No. 240 (May 1946).

Denholm-Young, N., 'The Paper Constitution attributed to 1244', *The English Historical Review*, Vol.58, No. 232 (Oct 1943).

Eales, R., 'Ranulf (III) , sixth earl of Chester and first earl of Lincoln (1170–1232)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Oct 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2716> [accessed 12 October 2012].

English, B., 'Forz , William de, count of Aumale (1191x6–1241)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Oct 2005 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29476> [accessed 20 June 2013].

Gransden, A., *English Historical Writing*, Vol. 1 (London: Routledge 1996).

Hallam E. and Everard J., *Capetian France, 987-1328* (Longman 2001).

Holden, B., *Lords of the Central Marches, English Aristocracy and Frontier Society 1087-1265* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008).

Howell, M., *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell 1998).

Jackson, P., 'The Crusades of 1239-1241 and Their Aftermath', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (1987).

Johnston, S.H.F., 'The Lands of Hubert de Burgh', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 50, No. 199 (July 1935).

Jones, T.M., *War of the Generations: the revolt of 1173-4* (University Microfilms for Medieval Text Association 1980).

Kennedy, E.D., 'Wykes, Thomas (1222–1291x3)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30129> [accessed 5 August 2012].

Kershaw, M.J., Article reproduced from *Knaresborough Castle Guidebook* (1998) <http://www.knaresborough.co.uk/castle/#history> [accessed 1st June 2013].

Labarge, M.W., *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode 1965).

Lloyd, S. and Reader, R., 'Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004), online edn, May 2010 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21268> [accessed December 2011].

Maddicott, J.R., *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997).

Nelson, J., 'Scottish Queenship in Thirteenth Century England', *Thirteenth Century England XI: Proceedings of the Gregynog Conference 2005*, (ed.) B. Weiler (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2007).

Page, M., 'Cornwall, Earl Richard and the Barons' War', *The English Historical Review*, Vol.115, No.460 (Feb 2000).

Painter, S., 'The Crusade of Theobald of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, 1239-41', *A History of the Crusades: Vol. 2, The Later Crusades 1189-1311*, (ed.) K.M. Setton, R.L. Wolff, H.W. Hazard (Madison Milwaukee and London: University of Wisconsin Press 1969).

Polden, A., 'A Crisis of the Knightly Class? Inheritance and Office among the Gentry of Thirteenth-Century Buckinghamshire', *Regionalism and Revision, The Crown and its Provinces in England 1250-1650*, (eds.) P. Fleming, A. Gross and J. R. Lander (London: Hambledon Press 1998).

Power, D.J., 'Bréauté, Sir Falkes de (d. 1226)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edition, Jan 2008 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3305> [accessed 20 June 2013].

Powicke, F.M., *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The community of the realm in the Thirteenth Century*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1950).

Prestwich, M., *Edward I* (London: Methuen 1990).

- Prestwich, M., 'Edward I (1239–1307)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8517> [accessed 11 July 2013].
- Smith, J.B., 'Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Prince Dafydd ap Llywelyn and Tintagel Castle', *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* (2010).
- Stacey, R., *Politics, Policy and Finance under Henry III 1216-1245* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1987).
- Treharne, R.F., *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263* (Manchester University Press 1932 (1971)).
- Vaughn, M., *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1958).
- Vincent, N., 'Richard, first Earl of Cornwall and King of Germany', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press Sep 2004); online edn, Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23501> [accessed November 2011].
- Vincent, N., 'Edmund of Almain, second earl of Cornwall (1249–1300)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8505> [accessed 21 June 2013].
- Vincent, N., 'Savoy, Peter of, count of Savoy and de facto earl of Richmond (1203?–1268)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Jan 2008
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22016> [accessed 5 June 2013].
- Vincent, N., *Peter des Roches: An Alien in British Politics 1205-1238* (Cambridge University Press 1996).
- Vincent, N., 'Maulay, Peter (I) de (d. 1241)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, Sept 2012
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18375> [accessed 17 Feb 2013].
- Vincent, N., 'Warene, William (IV) de, fifth earl of Surrey (d. 1240)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn,
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28739> [accessed 12 October 2012].
- Vincent, N., 'Bohun, Humphrey (IV) de, second earl of Hereford and seventh earl of Essex (d. 1275)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press 2004); online edn, May 2010
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2775> [accessed 12 October 2012].
- Vincent, N., 'Isabella of Angouleme: John's Jezebel', *King John: New Interpretations*, (ed.) S.D. Church (Woodbridge: Boydell Press 2007).

Walker, R.F., Hubert de Burgh and Wales 1218-1232, *The English Historical Review*, Vol.87. No. 344 (1972).

Weiler, B.K.U., *Henry III of England and the Staufan Empire, 1216-72* (Woodbridge: Boydell and the Royal Historical Society 2006).

Weiler, B.K.U., 'Image and Reality in Richard of Cornwall's Germany Career', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 113, No. 454 (Nov 1998).

Weiler, B.K.U., 'Gregory IX, Frederick II, and the Liberation of the Holy Land, 1230-9', in *Studies in Church History* 36 (Boydell Press 2000).

Wild, B., 'The Empress's New Clothes: A *Rotulus Pannorum* of Isabella, sister of King Henry III, Bride of Emperor Frederick II', *Medieval Clothing and Textiles VII*, (ed.) G. Owen-Crocker and R. Netherton (Woodbridge: Boydell 2011).

Wilkinson, L.J., *Eleanor de Montfort: A Rebel Countess in Medieval England* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group 2012).

Wilkinson, L.J., 'The imperial marriage of Isabella of England, Henry III's sister', *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship* (ed.) L. Oakley-Brown and L. Wilkinson (Chippenharn: Four Courts Press 2009).

Wilkinson, L.J., 'The *Rules* of Robert Grosseteste Reconsidered: The Lady as Estate and Household Manager in Thirteenth Century England', *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850 – c.1550, Managing Power, Wealth and the Body*, (eds.) C. Beattie, A. Maslakovic and S. Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols 2004).

